# THE SURVEY

GRAPHIC NUMBER

The Smashed Argument

*By Hendrik Willem Van Loon*

## 1914-1924

# What the Ten Years Have Taught Us

Major General Henry T. Allen
Robert Herrick
Major General John F. O'Ryan
James G. McDonald

# Security and Disarmament

THE AMERICAN DRAFT TREATY
James T. Shotwell

Cents a Copy
AUGUST 1, 1924
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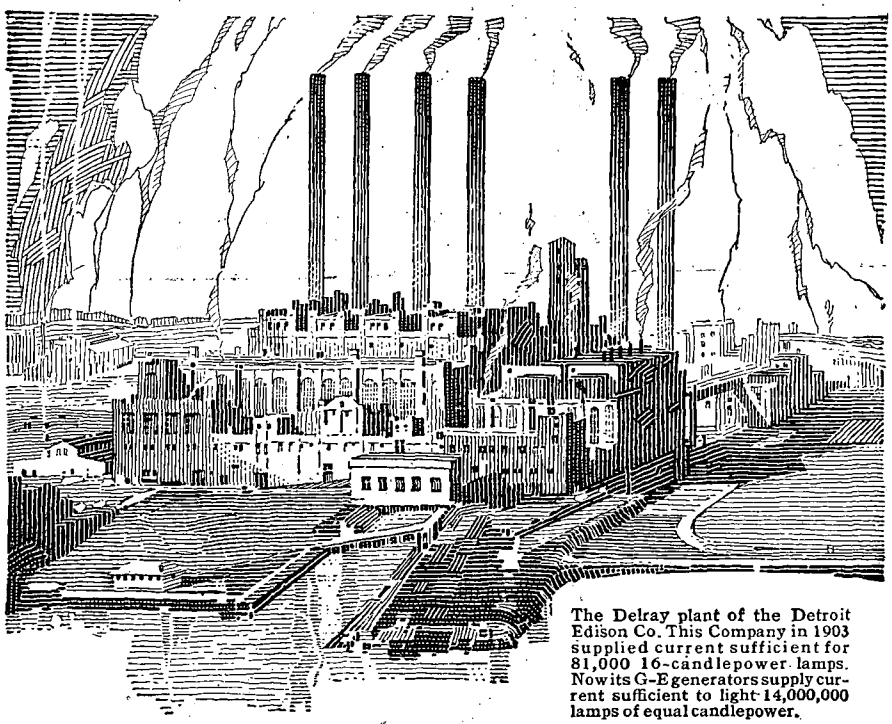

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# THE SURVEY

Graphic Number

Vol. LII, No. 9 August 1, 1924


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## *The Gist of It*

A CANADIAN by birth, professor of history at Columbia since 1907, chief of the division of history of the American staff at the Peace Conference, editor, for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, of the Economic and Social History of the War, Professor Shotwell brought a mass of international information finely tempered by a quizzical intelligence to the task of helping to draft a treaty of disarmament and security which might set the world forward on its path toward peace (p. 483). The full text of the treaty, with a commentary and introduction by Professor Shotwell, will appear in the August number of International Conciliation, published by the Carnegie Endowment and to be had for five cents per copy. The text is also published with a joint commentary by the Foreign Policy Association, New York, from which it may be had gratis.

MAJOR GENERAL HENRY T. ALLEN speaks in the preface of his "Rhineland Journal" of "the practicability and advantages of a policy based on fair play and a square deal," and this phrase might be taken as the keynote of the man whose career is distingiushed by sustained fairness and frankness of thinking. A graduate of the U. S. Military Academy in 1882, General Allen has seen a long period of service: from the early military explorations of Alaska in 1885-6 to the command of the American forces in Germany in 1919, he has known the machinery of military organization in all its phases. At the moment he is an outstanding figure in the movement for international mindedness necessary to the sort of world leadership that will mean peace and security for the future (page 487).

MAJOR GENERAL JOHN F. O'RYAN (page 489) for the last three years has been putting the same constructive energy into the solving of problems arising before the New York Transit Commission as in the Somme offensive where his army division, the 27th of New York, covered itself with glory. During 1923, General O'Ryan acted as General Counsel for the Select Committee of the U. S. Senate engaged in investigation of the Veteran's Bureau.

ROBERT HERRICK has swung through a complete arc of experience in the last ten years of turmoil and upheaval. "Why did my attitude on the war change from that of the fervid partisan of the Allies and their cause as expressed in my signed articles written for the editorial page of the Chicago Sunday Tribune (1914-1917) and in my war book, The World Decision, (1916) to that of hesitation and doubt—a "defeatist" I was sometimes in 1917, 1918—to that of pacifist, flat and plain, as at present?" Mr. Herrick answers the question (page 493).

A. EVELYN NEWMAN is professor of sociology and dean of women at the Colorado State College. Two years, 1917-1919, were spent in army welfare and educational work with the Young Men's Christian Association in France and Germany. In a vivid sketch (page 500) Miss Newman paints a little picture of a journey with a group of tourists who were "doing" the battlefields.

TWO years after the Armenians fled from Smyrna some twelve hundred refugees are still living in the Royal National Theatre at Athens (page 505). Greece cannot find living quarters or occupation for them. Mrs. LaRue Van Hook, wife of Professor Van Hook of the Department of Classical Philology at Columbia University, describes the suffering of these people who still hope to go "home" to their beautiful city of Smyrna and who live on month after month in cramped temporary quarters in the Greek city. Some of them realize that Greece can do no more for them, that their only hope of aid is from the United States. In a letter to Mrs. Van Hook, Henry Morgenthau writes, "Some people might think that you drew upon your imagination, but I who know the facts, am convinced that even your picturing of them does not adequately describe the terrible conditions that prevail there." The Near East Relief, 151 Fifth Avenue, New York, is administering relief for the refugees.

S. K. RATCLIFFE analyzes with familiar clarity the trend of current affairs in India (page 507) in the first of a series of news articles interpreting the problems —administrative and legislative—with which his friends of the Labor Government are dealing.

MARY ELIZABETH GROSS has travelled widely. Her gripping little sketch throws a sidelight on the women who are spending their youth in world repair work since the catastrophe (page 504).

THOSE who are familiar, through attendance at the luncheons of the Foreign Policy Association, with the crisp, even-handed technique which James G. McDonald brings to the task of presiding over controversial discussions, will be prepared for the objectivity of his analysis of present-day American opinion on peace plans which appears on p. 496. Those who have not seen Mr. McDonald in action will want to, after reading this review.

AMONG the growing host of apostles of peace in the churches, the Reverend George Elliott, D.D., L.L.D., venerable editor of the Methodist Review, is one of the sanest and most energetic men. From his wide knowledge of the modern world, and with his keen social sympathies, he writes of the changing attitude of the churches toward war, and the causes for this change.

ORVILLE A. WELSH, is now on the desk of the New York World, following varied experience on representative newspapers in Scranton, Philadelphia, Cleveland and Baltimore. He began his investigation of American "rotten boroughs" in a series of articles for the Sunday World which in turn have covered the situation in a dozen of the industrial states in the Northern tier. This is the first magazine presentation of the results of his canvass. Born and brought up in rural Pennsylvania, he cannot be accused of animosity or prejudice toward the rural element unduly represented in State Legislative councils.


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*Anna Coleman Ladd, sculptor*

PEACE VICTORIOUS

This group by one of America's women sculptors visions Peace as a vigorous man's figure, crushing war and restraining him from further harm to the postrate figure of humanity. Peace as a man rather than a woman interprets the power of the torces demanding world peace rather than the passive beneficence of the conventional concept. "Peace Victorious" was first exhibited in 1916 in New York

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AUGUST, 1
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Volume LII
No. 9

# Security and Disarmament

By JAMES T. SHOTWELL

THE tenth anniversary of the outbreak of the world war will be commemorated in various ways. There will be fresh wreaths upon the tombs of the unknown warriors. There will be flowers at the memorial crosses, inscribed with simple mottoes from pious hands. There will be ceremonies on the battlefields. But as at Gettysburg, it is surely not enough today merely to recall a tragedy like this; the most fitting memorial is the high resolve that such a tragedy shall not recur.

This resolve has not been lacking since the war ended. In spite of much discouragement and of much wilful mischief in both leaders and peoples—especially in our own country—any careful observer of contemporary politics must admit that the chief lesson of the war has not been entirely lost upon the generation which has suffered from it. The movement towards peace has become something very different from what it was ten years ago. It is no longer a theme for theorists, a vague and distant aspiration. It is a real purpose, more and more clarified in the public mind, and clothed with at least some instruments for securing its realization.

A French statesman representing the liberal traditions of republican France—those traditions which have been the inspiration of the nineteenth century throughout continental Europe—recently gave out as his judgment that as liberty had been the key-note of the era of the French Revolution, so the outstanding aspiration of our own time is peace. This was not the utterance of a pacifist straining toward his ideal; it was the interpretation of the realistic mind of France and a statement of the international situation in Europe.

Across the Rhine similar forces are at work. The democracy of Germany, which asserted itself in revolution after the policy of the war had brought disaster, pursues similar ideals; although there, as in France, the issue has been sadly obscured by the failure to arrive at a settlement which seems just to either side, and by those sinister influences which reveal themselves whenever nations disagree.

There is no need, fortunately, to comment upon the extent of the movement for peace in the British Empire or the United States. For even recalcitrant and reactionary members of parliament and congress have been obliged to admit that it is gaining in strength, and to yield some points at least to its demands.

But while the movement itself has been growing there has been an unfortunate disagreement as to ways and means by which its aims could be attained. The disagreement over the covenant and the refusal of the United States to cooperate in the work of the League of Nations have constituted an almost insurperable obstacle to their practical realization. In the thick of this controversy, there has been danger that we would lose sight of the issue itself. To deal with this situation a small group of Americans have come together during the past winter and spring to try to bring the problem of a program of peace back to terms that could be readily understood and widely agreed upon. The result was The Draft Treaty of Disarmament and Security which the Council of the League of Nations has accepted from their hands and placed before the leading governments of the world for their consideration. Though details of this plan have already appeared in the public press, they have so far been rather submerged beneath the incidental interests of the political campaign.

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*"WE shall set the ball rolling once more so that it can't be stopped," writes Dr. Shotwell. Here, as a member of the unofficial American group which has prepared a draft treaty of security and disarmament, he traces the history and sketches the promise of this new tool for peace—the first attempt at a treaty that gives us a definite plan for the outlawry of war and . . . at the same time, safeguards the United States and, in fact, every national sovereignty. By action of the Council of the League of Nations, this draft treaty has been referred to all the governments represented in that body for consideration.*

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The group was composed of: General Tasker H. Bliss, American representative on the Supreme War Council; Dr. Isaiah Bowman, executive head of the technical experts of the American Delegation at the Paris Peace Conference; Dr. Joseph P. Chamberlain, Professor of Public Law at Columbia University; Professor John Bates Clark, former Director of the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Dr. Stephen

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P. Duggan, Director of the Institute for International Education of the Carnegie Foundation; General James G. Harbord, former Chief of Staff of the American Army; Dr. Frederick P. Keppel, former Assistant Secretary of War; Mr. David Hunter Miller, legal adviser to the United States Government at the Paris Peace Conference; Dr. Henry S. Pritchett, President of the Carnegie Foundation; and Dr. James T. Shotwell, Professor of History at Columbia University, a member of the American delegation at the Paris Peace Conference and a commissioner of the Labor Section of the Treaty.

This American group was of course entirely unofficial. It had no connection with any of the organizations to which its members belonged. It was simply a small body of private American citizens interested in offering their contribution toward the settlement of the problem which underlies so much of the peace movement of today.

The result of their efforts can best be judged by studying the document which they produced. To see that in perspective, however, it is necessary to review briefly the efforts already made by a commission of the League of Nations to formulate a plan leading towards disarmament.

FOR over three years bodies of technical experts have been at work under the auspices of the League of Nations trying to produce a practical plan for the reduction of armaments. Most of this labor has fallen to a commission composed partly of civilians and partly of military experts, created expressly for the purpose of drafting a satisfactory treaty for the states that are members of the league, and known as the Temporary Mixed Commission. In order to enable it to make headway in the face of bureaucratic opposition or the mutual suspicion of governments this commission was so organized as not to represent governments; its members are free to express their own ideas.

It became clear early in the discussion that reduction or limitation of armaments was really a secondary matter; the prime consideration was that of national security. No state would or could reduce its armaments if by so doing it lessened its security from attack. The Assembly of the league early recognized this axiom and instructed the Temporary Mixed Commission to consider the two problems of security and reduction of armaments as inseparable, with the accent upon security. It was realized that whatever documents looking towards the reduction of armaments, might be signed or even ratified, they would almost certainly be disregarded in the hour of danger if they make the signatory less secure. The prime duty of a government is after all to safeguard its people; other duties come later. For "security" is only another name for the problem of life and death.

The Temporary Mixed Commission accordingly prepared a draft treaty which bears little mention of disarmament, but concentrates upon the question of security. This "Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance" assures the members of the league that if any one of them is attacked it can count upon assistance from the others. With the danger of attack thus removed it is expected that there will be an automatic decrease in armaments. In short, it is the theory of this treaty that the way to get rid of armaments is first to destroy their usefulness by substituting, in a friendly and cooperative spirit, other means for safeguarding the lives and property of citizens.

The first part of the treaty bears the impress of the British group of which Viscount Cecil has been the inspiring leader. It calls for the acceptance in general terms of the whole peace program. The opening article of the treaty is a ringing challenge which should find an echo throughout the whole world:

> The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare that aggressive war is an international crime, and severally undertake that no one of them will be guilty of its commission.

The absence of a definition of "aggression" leaves this article little more than a general declaration of intention, but it is well to have even the general statement made so clearly and emphatically in a document to be signed by the governments of the world.

Then follows a plan to ensure peace by placing at the disposal of the Council of the League of Nations such armed forces as it needs for an international police. This meets a demand frequently and most seriously urged by the French military authorities during the Paris Peace Conference. It is, however, not easy of acceptance generally, and neither the British Government nor that of the United States—as the event has proved—could readily adhere to such a document. This section of the treaty has therefore led to very serious objections upon the part of different governments and is, apparently, not likely to be adopted.

The third main feature in the Temporary Mixed Commission draft treaty is the contribution of Colonel Réquin, the French military expert at Geneva. It attempts to bring within the scope of this general treaty and of the covenant special treaties between two or more powers whenever they are made for purely defensive purposes; on the assumption that the parties to them may lessen their armaments owing to the fact that they have found friends. For example, the treaty between France and Czechslovakia for their mutual defence as against Germany might enable both the French and the Czech governments to reduce the armies they otherwise would be obliged to maintain. But it has not escaped the critics of the treaty that this is only a modified form of the old methods of alliance which worked towards the balance of power in the years preceding the World war ultimately was one cause of the war itself. How then can one admit this process within the very terms of a treaty designated to stop it? The answer is that there is no harm in a nation having friends, and that the making of alliances is bound to proceed wherever two nations can profit from it, no matter what other general engagements there may be. As the French have cogently pointed out, one is dealing here with a historic process which cannot be got rid of by any general fiat of the League of Nations. Individual states will make their friends and work out in twos and threes their particular problems—problems to which the very uniformity of a worldwide treaty makes it less applicable.

BUT how can one keep these defensive alliances and understandings within the general spirit of the Covenant of the League of Nations and prevent them from becoming a threat to a third power? Colonel Réquin's suggested answer is one of the chief contributions to the history of the disarmament movement. He pointed out that these special treaties must necessarily be of one of two kinds. Their terms would be either known or secret. In the former

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case they would be registered with the League of Nations, after having passed the scrutiny of the council to see whether they really conformed with the spirit of the covenant. In order to make sure that this would be done wherever possible, Colonel Réquin proposed that in such cases the signatories be free to act *automatically* when a danger arose for which they made explicit provision. Since rapidity of action in time of danger is the first demand of the soldier, there would be every reason under this arrangement, to make one's engagements public. If the treaty between France and Czechslovakia, for instance, definitely stated that each signatory was to come to the assistance of the other if attacked by any other power, they would be free to carry out this obligation without reference to the league, court, or arbitration. If on the other hand, the treaty were secret or the particular incident unprovided for, the signatories would have to delay their action and first confer with the appropriate agencies of the League of Nations. If by any chance a high official of either state were molested or murdered in the territory of another power and this event had not been provided against in the treaty, redress by armed force could not be had until the matter was laid before the League of Nations. The very incident which brought on the World war would, according to Colonel Réquin's provisions, bring into play the agencies of peace instead of the immediate appeal to arms.

These are perhaps the chief points of interest in the treaty of mutual assistance which was presented to the Assembly of the League last September. The Assembly, in turn, submitted the treaty to the governments which it represents for their comments prior to action when the Assembly meets in September of this year. As the winter grew on it became evident that there was considerable opposition to both the British and the French contributions to the treaty, an opposition varying from a request for amendment to a frank rejection of the main principles. Whether this opposition will be successful or not, it is enough to render subsequent ratification very difficult in certain states. If it is successful, the League of Nations will have to reconsider the whole question of disarmament.

THIS was the situation in which the American group found opportunity to take a hand. It had been in touch, through one of its members, with the efforts of the Temporary Mixed Commission to find an acceptable plan. It recognized the obstacles which that commission faced. It had to consider first of all what kind of general treaty would meet the American situation as well as that of Europe. While it addressed itself first of all to elaborating and restudying the work of the European commission, it came to the problem, inevitably, with a somewhat different viewpoint.

It was clear that the opening article of the European treaty could still be made the starting point, for it amounts to that "outlawry of war" which has become so familiar to the American public as the ultimate ideal of disarmament. But "aggressive war" or "aggression" has never been defined in international law. The experts of the League of Nations were unable to solve this problem, nor has the American group solved it, but it has stated it in new terms. It offers a negative instead of a positive test of aggression. The state which refuses to accept the summons before the World Court issued by any other state feeling itself menaced, admits by reason of its very refusal that it is an aggressor. In short, *the refusal to accept the summons,* not necessarily the specific acts which led to the appeal to the Court *is the test of aggression.* Acts of force and preparations for war, as well as actual invasion of territory, thus become either crimes or misdemeanors. The society of nations proceeds to deal with such acts in the same way as civil society has dealt with crime against its members.

The two opening chapters of the Draft Treaty deal with this "outlawry of aggressive war" as follows:

OUTLAWRY OF AGGRESSIVE WAR

Article 1.—The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare that aggressive war is an international crime. They severally undertake not to be guilty of its commission.*

Article 2.—A State engaging in war for other than purposes of defense commits the international crime described in Article 1.

Article 3.—The Permanent Court of International Justice shall have jurisdiction, on the complaint of any signatory, to make a judgment to the effect that the international crime described in Article 1 has or has not in any given case been committed.

ACTS OF AGGRESSION

Article 4.—The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare that acts of aggression, even when not resulting in war, and preparations for such acts of aggression, are hereafter to be deemed forbidden by international law.

Article 5.—In the absence of a state of war, measures of force by land, by sea or in the air taken by one State against another and not taken for purposes of defense or for the protection of human life shall be deemed to be acts of aggression.

Any signatory which claims that another signatory has violated any of the terms of this treaty shall submit its case to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

A signatory refusing to accept the jurisdiction of the Court in any such case shall be deemed an aggressor within the terms of this treaty.

Failure to accept the jurisdiction of the Court within four days after submission of a claim of violation of this treaty shall be deemed a refusal to accept the jurisdiction.

Article 6.—The Court shall also have jurisdiction on the complaint of any signatory to make a judgment to the effect that there has or has not in any given case been committed a violation of international law within the terms of Article 4.

Article 7.—The Permanent Advisory Conference hereinafter mentioned shall from time to time consider the further codifying of the principles of international law relating to acts of aggression and preparations for such acts.

In this regard, the conference shall take into account the additional security to the signatories and the progressive disarmament which are by this treaty contemplated.

The recommendations of the conference shall be submitted to the High Contracting Parties for their adoption, and shall also be transmitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The activity of the Court in this connection is further defined by Articles 10 and 11 as follows:

DECREES OF THE PERMANENT COURT

Article 10.—The High Contracting Parties agree to accept the judgment of the Permanent Court of International Justice as to the fulfillment or violation of the contracts of this treaty.

Any question arising under this treaty is *ipso facto* within the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court.

Article 11.—If a dispute arising under this treaty shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice, it is for the Court to decide as to its jurisdiction and also whether or not its decree has been complied with.

But international law has so far lacked the mechanism of enforcement without involving the nations in war generally. In the past, enforcement of the rights of nations has simply accented that anarchic method of the application of force which we know as the "war system." It was therefore necessary either to fall back upon Lord Cecil's plan of an

* This opening article is left in the form in which it occurs in the League treaty. The subsequent articles, however, give it a different significance.

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international police force—which is foreign to the American tradition—or to discover some other way of dealing effectively with the international criminal.

The American suggestion for enforcing the treaty is an entirely novel one. The signatories agree to regard the aggressor as an outlaw. They deny it all the protection, rights, and privileges which it profits from in time of peace in the territories of other states and on the high seas. They take away the certainty of the protection of the law. The other signatories are left free to enforce peace by sterner measures if they see fit, but the treaty does not *oblige* them to take any step not dictated by their own interests.

This suggestion is so important as bearing upon the solution of the central problem of this treaty, that the text of it should be quoted. It runs as follows:

SANCTIONS

Article 8.—In the event of any High Contracting Party having been adjudged an aggressor pursuant to this treaty, all commercial, trade, financial and property interests of the aggressor and of its nationals shall cease to be entitled, either in the territories of the other signatories or on the high seas, to any privileges, protection, rights or immunities accorded by either international law, national law or treaty.

Any High Contracting Party may in such case take such other steps toward the severance of trade, financial, commercial and personal intercourse with the aggressor and its nationals as it may deem proper and the High Contracting Parties may also consult together in this regard.

The period during which any such economic sanction may be continued shall be fixed at any time by the Court at the request of any signatory.

In the matter of measures of force to be taken, each signatory shall consult its own interests and obligations.

Article 9.—If any High Contracting Party shall be adjudged an aggressor by the Permanent Court of International Justice, such power shall be liable for all costs to all other High Contracting Parties resulting from its aggression.

The effect of these clauses would be to hit the aggressor in the two lines of its economic interests which the postwar experiences of Europe have most accentuated, namely, reparations and the currency. The effect of the denial of the rights of international law to the business interests of an aggressor state would almost certainly be to shake its credit in the markets of the world. In view of the publicity attached to the accusation of aggression, it is probable that this effect upon the money market would be immediate and preventive. This is not likely the last word in the formulation of an economic sanction; it is a matter which calls for careful study. But we have here at least a suggestion of an alternative for binding obligations and the enforcement of peace by force of arms.

IT is impossible in a review of this kind to cover all of the points in the proposed draft treaty of the American group, but one other proposition is also of outstanding importance. It is proposed to have a permanent advisory conference upon disarmament which shall meet not less than once every three years. This is a sort of world parliament, considering the ways and means for limiting and lessening armaments. It is to have as its agent a permanent technical committee which either independently or in cooperation with a similar committee of the league will investigate the state of armaments in different countries and publish their findings in the form of reports to the permanent conference. This would be a general staff for peace instead of war. It would be an international staff intent upon preventing the growth not only of armaments but of the suspicion of armaments—instead of contributing to them.

The activity of such a world parliament and its agencies, devoted to the elimination of the war processes, would tend inevitably to throw into relief other methods of settling disputes. Indeed it is this body which would first come to grips with the practical problems raised by such an international agreement as this. The technical difficulties ahead are enormous. Only those who have attempted to apply a treaty know how many and how varied are the obstacles it meets. For instance, it took months of study for the experts of the International Labor Office to define an eight-hour day! What happens when one works overtime to enjoy the week-end? The same kind of detailed study awaits the application of *any* treaty on disarmament. And for that purpose, if for no other, there must be a continuing organization, like that for international labor legislation, adjustable to a changing world. If the Assembly at Geneva were so much as to call such an organization into being by way of a World Conference on Disarmament next year, we should then have begun to achieve the purposes of this Draft Treaty.

It is no part of this treaty to consider how political disputes are to be settled as long as they are not settled by force. It deals with only one element in a complicated situation. Its subject is disarmament and the "outlawry of war." But it is perfectly clear that its acceptance would involve the preparation of still further plans for utilizing the World Court and some further association of nations for those contributory acts of conciliation and appeasement which would tend to eliminate provocative policies and so ultimately develop a reasonable substitute for war itself. The elimination of armaments is thus but a first step towards the achievement of international justice.

Finally it should be clear that this plan for disarmament with emphasis upon the court is not in any sense an effort to sidetrack the existing agencies of the League of Nations, nor is it even by implication an amendment of the covenant. The League of Nations would still continue its essential work in the field of conciliation, political negotiation, and prevention of hostilities. Whether the United States participated or not in these activities, the league would continue to develop along the lines already so clearly indicated in the opening years of its existence. The articulation of the new agencies with those already existing would not be difficult, nor would they involve any serious dislocation in the league itself. By contributing towards the realization of one of its chief aims, they would indeed make more secure its moral authority—upon which in the last analysis its political influence must rest.

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# What the Ten Years Have Taught Us

*Ten years ago the war system engulfed the world. The old diplomacy, secret understandings, huge military establishments, universal service, bore their perfect fruit. The nations reaped what they had sowed. Are we now to sow the same crop year by year? Have we learned a better way? Where should fathers, mothers, veterans of the battlefields, the new generation, take their stand? We put the question—What Have the Ten Years Taught Us?—to two outstanding American army men, high officers who from the coign of their military experience bring testimony—concrete, personal, outspoken—that lays a charge on the statesmanship of the nations, and of America most of all.*

## I. We Must Not Secede from the World

By HENRY T. ALLEN
Major General, U. S. Army

OUR changed relationship to the rest of the world in recent years has been shown by the presence of our soldiers on the mainland of Asia, in the inlands of the remote Pacific, and in Central Europe.

When the great Washington laid aside the cares of state there were no steamships, there was no telephone nor telegraph, there was no commercial value attached to electricity in any form. Communications between New York and Paris are now as ready and rapid as they were a few years since between New York and the Ohio Basin. That means that the world has shrunk and that all great states have become neighbors. That means that the national policies of a century and a half ago may not serve us in this radio-electric ara.

The World War for which we sent two million American soldiers to Europe, and for which we had an equal number in readiness for embarkation, afforded an exceptional opportunity for us to get an insight into the lives and motives of other nations. We have as a result a better understanding of the tremendous problems of the European states and peoples.

We have just cause to be gratified that the impious creed, that might makes right and that the state as the incarnation of power stands above law, have been overthrown. Such doctrines were as destructive of public morality as they were fatal to liberty and to those virtues which must flourish in free states. Unfortunately the results of the conferences at Paris preceding the Versailles Treaty, whereat it seems to me, the too prolonged consideration given to the ethnographic and political conditions was prejudicial to the highly important economic settlements. In any event the aftermath of the great war has been baneful to the welfare of the world over a period of five and one-half years. This situation has clearly demonstrated the inter-dependence of states; it has been harmful to a moral and physical restoration, particularly in Europe; it has interfered seriously with the material welfare of the United States; and above all it has prejudiced the spiritual well-being of mankind.

It would be interesting to forecast what this aftermath would have been had our country participated in it as outlined by the treaty. Had the United States become a member of the tri-partite arrangement probably France would not have seen fit to strive for her security by the seizure of additional territory from her recent enemy and by her earnest effort to cause political disintegration in the *Reich*. Had the Treaty been ratified by our senate, even with reasonable reservations, it is not bold to suggest that there would have been a general funding by our debtors and an accepted solution of reparations by all.

It is a fact well known to European statesmen, and to unprejudiced students of world affairs, that Europe cannot proceed properly along the road of moral and physical restoration without our participation in the great unsettled post-bellum measures. Much of the bitterness existing between the two principal countries on or near the Rhine would have been avoided by official representation on our part at the various commissions, conferences and councils, bearing on war settlements. All of the countries concerned would have exhibited a far greater spirit of conciliation had our participation been official. While this statement may not be demonstrated scientifically, it can be confirmed by many intelligent experienced Americans, increased by numbers of Europeans of similar attributes.

PERHAPS the greatest problem resulting from the World War is the so-called German question of reparations due the several allied partners, but particularly involving the Rhineland wherein France considers her security must be determined. This great question is not alone between Germany on one side and France on the other, but it is one between Germany on one side and the United States, France, England, Italy and Belgium on the other. Our interests are materially effected. Our present prosperity, though greater than that of other countries, is by no means what it would be were European markets restored. The prices of our farm products such as cereals and meats are seriously influenced by the European situation.

In the interallied debts, we are of course deeply interested. It is very difficult for the average man in the United States to recognize any relation between what Germany owes Italy and what Italy owes England to what Italy owes to



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the United States. We have not too persistently demanded payment, nor have we foregone our desire to have payment; but it is quite possible that in the near future it may be considered good business to come to some terms in respect to this matter. This big hold, this financial lever, gives us an international advantage, but perhaps it would be yet more beneficial to us to cancel part or all of those debts that those states might be able to pay something instead of nothing, as at the present time.

It has been said that they have no thought of paying this debt, that the money borrowed from the United States was for a common cause, for bringing the war to a conclusion, and that they had sacrificed far more blood than we and likewise more treasury in proportion to their capacity—all of which is true. May it not therefore be advisable that the United States participate with the other countries of the world around a common table discussing reparations, German payments and war debts? I should say that it would be advisable for us to receive some sort of compensation—some *quid pro quo*. If there be one element in the foreign policy of the United States more strikingly implanted than another, it is that frequently expressed desire to bring about disarmament. Therefore, in this general evening up of world finances. might we not demand that disarmament be brought about in proportion to the cancellations we might make?

Assuming that a block of thirty-nine million people has reason to fear the return of a recently hostile block of sixty-two million, does that authorize the smaller aggregation to take such measures and reprisals as are harmful to the interests of all its recent war partners and to practically all other nations by precluding a return to normality of trade and commerce? It should not be forgotten that the actual sovereignty of that smaller entity is due to others. It would therefore seem the part of wisdom for it to mould its policy so as to conform to the interests of her recent supporters, in harmony with the financial and economic conditions of Europe, albeit not wholly in accord with the persistent political demands of the recently retired Poincaré government.

Each of the allied and associated powers could with equal justice formulate a letter following the essence of that of Ramsay MacDonald to the French Premier. The British Prime Minister stated that as France wanted reparations for her devastated regions so England wanted reparations for her vessels lying at the bottom of the sea, for her loss of shipping, her loss of trade due to a fluctuating unit of exchange, and for the loss due to the unemployment of one and a quarter million of men. He further stated, that as France wants security from war on the continent, so England desires security from war, regardless of which may be the countries involved.

THE final blow for victory in the World War was struck by the United States. Had not the forces in vast numbers from across the Atlantic gone to the rescue of our war partners in the spring of 1918, when their morale was at its lowest ebb, the sovereignties of more than one of those countries would not exist as they do today. We have therefore equity in the settlement of this great economic disturbance in Europe, and we have a right to protect our material interests by using our rights to bring about settlements.

It has been stated that one-half the population of the United States is engaged in lines of production absolutely dependent upon foreign markets for our surplus products. Europe has always been our best market. It follows that we are participating in a large measure in European affairs and that this great international economic struggle with its imposing human phase and its numerous interferences with our business relations and prosperity must deeply appeal to all of us. Our country, with only about 5½ per cent of population and area of the world, has an economic development far above the rest of the world as a whole. We have over 40 per cent of the installed horse power of the world, over one-third of the railroads of the world, over one-half of the telephone and telegraphs, and seven-eighths of the motor vehicles. Besides this equipment, we produce a large part of the world's basic raw materials—71 per cent of the cotton, 64 per cent of the petroleum, 52 per cent of the pig iron, 50 per cent of the coal, and 41 per cent of the cereals. In view of this accomplishment, the United States automatically assumes a leading position in the economic world.

In the spring of last year one of the large shipbuilding establishments of England found it necessary to secure one hundred thousand tons of steel from the Ruhr basin or else cease operations. Likewise during the first quarter of last year England sent into the United States fifty thousand tons of steel, while we shipped a still greater tonnage of the same metal into Canada. Such movements as these show the interdependence of States. They show the futility of some of the talk of isolation in our country. This interdependence has made France's efforts to act successfully alone impossible. The very fact that we did send two million soldiers to Europe and that we did occupy with our forces a section of the center of Europe over a period of four and a half years are striking examples of what changed conditions in modern times mean to us. We are a leading member of this world of nations and states and our responsibilities are correspondingly great. Our failure to ratify the treaty that would have been willingly modified by the other signatories to suit our requirements, has left us in default in the eyes of Europe and of other countries.

Regardless of the political reasons that brought about our action or non-action, the fact remains that the present European *impasse* could not have happened had we officially participated in the aftermath of the War. We would have contributed with our enormous prestige greater elements of strength and perhaps greater impartiality than would have been possible by any other state .

Our country has become the greatest financial and industrial country in the world,—the world's economic center of gravity falling within our boundaries. This change, largely accomplished within the past ten years, demands our participation in all great measures effecting world welfare as a necessity for our own interests.

UNDER the present European conditions, without American participation in a Permanent International Conference—call it a League of Nations or a Society of Nations—we find history repeating itself. We see one group of States with France as the center already formed. If history repeats itself still further, we shall find another group forming possibly with England as the center. Then we shall have a repetition of the so-called balance of power in which each element of the two groups becomes a special

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pleader for his group, and thus we must expect to find, under such conditions, Europe again involved in a general war. Naturally the United States would again be unable to remain neutral. We have learned from history that isolation does not keep us out of war. We know that as the exploits of Napoleon brought us to war in the beginning of the nineteenth century with England, so Kaiserism brought us in the beginning of the twentieth century into the World War. Why not try a policy of participation in world affairs vicariously approved by both the great political parties of the United States, whereby we could utilize our enormous moral and physical strength, not only for the welfare of ourselves but for all other states of the world?

It would be highly agreeable and encouraging for us, protagonists of a republic, to see a stabilization of government shown in the trend towards moderated liberalism or liberal socialism in the recent English, French and German elections. Whether these results are indicative of permanency there is indeed a question, but that the chances of further conferences on disarmament are increased and that governments more conciliatory towards a European settlement are secured, there can be no doubt. World co-operation has received a great impetus. Despite the improved European conditions, not one of the principal states concerned believes that a genuine settlement, reasonably early and stable, can be effected without the participation of the United States.

OUR country may realize too late the importance of a permanent international conference whereat we may sit with all civilized states for the purpose of bringing about agreement on matters of international and world welfare such as reparations, German payments, interallied debts and territorial, aerial and submarine disarmaments. This great republic has a soul which protests against secession from the society of other countries. The progressive spirit of the nation visualizes the role that destiny has imposed upon us and is prepared to advance with the demands of modern standards of civilization.

# II. The Peril of Ignorance

By JOHN F. O'RYAN
Major General U. S. Army, Reserve

TEN years this summer since the world was stupefied by the outbreak of the Great War; five years since its close. Five years we have had to reflect upon its causes, its agonies, its tragedies, its lessons. For five years we have been observing the world-wide demoralization which has followed it like a horde of ghouls preying upon the substance and the moral standards of peoples. For five years the atoms which constituted civilization as we knew it before the war and which were blown into a strange emulsion by the explosion of war, have been precipitating. What is to be the result? Can the result be influenced by concerted human effort at this time? Is planned and concerted action by the peoples of the world in their own interest and in the interest of those who are to follow them, practical? Or is it one of the lesions following the scarlet fever of war that its victims are left defective, confused or vicious—incapable collectively of doing the things which should be done in the interest of future peace and progress?

Let us consider some of the outstanding circumstances of this great cataclysm known as the World War. Let our minds go back to August, 1914. What was the outstanding fact at that time? Was it not the astonishment, the wonder, the incredulity of civilized peoples when they read of the universal call to arms? War to them seemed unbelievable. People had given up war. The world needed continued peace. The ultimatums were a series of bluffs. Anyway, the war would not last—too destructive. People were not fools. The kings and emperors might play at the "sport of kings," but people were no longer their cannon fodder. And up went the signs, "Business as Usual." In any event, there was no real danger for the money would run out in a few weeks or months, and the war would cease for lack of sustenance. The world ignorance of the fathers and mothers, husbands and wives, sons and daughters of civilization—that was the outstanding circumstance of August, 1914. And when one refers to these families of civilization, one must picture the God-fearing, wholesome, affectionate families which constituted the backbone and the best hope of Great Britain, France, Russia, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Italy, Japan, America, and of the other peoples who engaged in the war. They may have worn different styles of clothing and spoken different languages, these families of civilization, but in their wholesomeness, their decency, and their kindliness they were quite the same. They were the same, not only in relation to these qualities, but as well in their world credulity, in their lack of foresight regarding their safety in the world as it then existed. They, these equally loved children of God, were the ones who were most astounded, most benumbed by the announcement of war. Nevertheless, their young lads, the finest and most virile flowers of the human race, true to their instincts and breeding, were the first to flock to their respective colors as allies or as enemies to offer themselves in defense of their countries, but in reality as sacrifices to a dreadful negligence of which the families of the civilized world had been guilty. And this suggests the second outstanding circumstance of the war.

The second outstanding circumstance of the war is that in 1914 the world was in no way prepared nor was it preparing for peace. In every way Europe was preparing—and for many years had been preparing—for war. Apparently it had not occurred to the families of the world that because of this policy war was inevitable. The preparation for war was in the keeping of what, for lack of a better name, may be called "the ruling classes,"—the statesmen, politicians and militarists of the world. In the performance of their duties, in the enjoyment of their offices and in the play of their ambitions, the ruling classes followed in the rut provided by the past. Those who did not actually promote the advent of war, neglected the duty to provide sanely and effectively against war, while the militarists and others actively interested in war developed their war machines and stimulated the imagination and the

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credulity of their people so they might be responsive to war's alarms when they sounded.

It is astounding, as we look back at it in the light of the war's tragedies, that the wholesome people of the world could have lived on in such complete apathy concerning the ruin that was being prepared for them in the name of God and country. In Europe, diplomats were intriguing, armies were manoeuvring, secret agents of government were spying, magazines and newspapers were proclaiming the strength and the leadership of this army and that. Indiscreet officers and soldiers were talking and boasting of "the day", and what their side would do. It seems clear now that the advance publicity of the world war was far greater than that of any prize ring contest, and yet the families of the world either did not take it seriously or they failed to see its connection with themselves. They lived their lives without regard to these warnings, without effective effort to prevent the fate that was being shaped for them. They believed their concern was the development of their material resources, the education of their children, the happiness of their households. The relation of these things to the conduct of government does not appear to have made itself felt. Government was a field of activity separate and apart from the family life, to be left as a matter of course to those whose mission it was to govern. In a word, the families of the world could have brought about world organization for the maintenance of world law and order and thus have avoided the war and the fate that befell them. They failed to do so. They failed even to appreciate the necessity for such action. They did not comprehend that in the absence of world organization, war was inevitable. The rule which then prevailed of every people for itself in a world of many peoples and devoid of world organization did not alarm them.

The third outstanding feature related to the war is the apparent failure of the great mass of the people who were engaged in the war to draw logical conclusions from its happenings and to act forcefully in the furtherance of such conclusions. Many people are trying "to forget the war". Others are complaining of the tax burdens which are but one of its many legacies. Others reminisce or complain concerning other features of the great conflict. But there are relatively few who analyze the facts and conditions which led up to the war and plan constructively to avoid war in the future. In our own country, which we like to regard as particularly intelligent and practical, many people rather pride themselves on their ability to "forget the war" as if that spirit indicated a Spartan attitude of mind, a thriftiness in relation to the future, uncontaminated by idle sentiment or emotion concerning the past. That attitude certainly is an extraordinary circumstance related to the war.

SUMMARIZING these features of the war and of pre-war days, we find that the World War broke out because the world had been organizing and preparing for such a war for many years. Its advent was more or less certain. The doubt related only to the time and the details. The present generation had grown up accustomed to this preparation for war. They lived in the midst of it. They were, consciously or unconsciously, part of that preparation. When the war came, they were astounded by the magnitude of the horror which opened up before them, but they were enmeshed in a great system. They were cogs in a great machine, and they found themselves forced to aid in their own destruction. The war lasted for five years. Ten million lives were sacrificed. Countless untold tragedies resulted. A part of a continent was laid waste. The war ended with the morale, the finances and the governmental structures of the combatant peoples either shattered or in a state verging on collapse. The representatives of the Allied Governments gathered at Versailles to formulate the terms of peace. It was almost certain that this treaty would follow the precedents set by other war treaties. But it was then that there came from America, still youthful, unbound by the precedents of European wars, a question and an idea. The question was, "Why reorganize in accordance with precedent, to repeat at some future date the horrors that transpired between 1914 and 1918?" The idea was, a world organization to enforce world law and order. A League of Nations was proposed as a substitute for war. It was only because Europe was so tired of war and that the proposal was made by America, whose disinterestedness and great power were acknowledged, that the idea was adopted.

The final extraordinary circumstance growing out of the war is that although the seemingly impossible was attained when fifty-four governments went into the League, America, which proposed it, is one of the few civilized governments still outside its restraints. Truly the most extraordinary circumstance of all!

Let Americans of character and with a sense of responsibility, pause and consider not only the extraordinary circumstances which have been mentioned, but as well whether in our state of apathy we are not living in a fool's paradise somewhat similar to that which existed prior to the outbreak of the war. We need continued peace now, as we needed it then. As then, there are thousands now who believe that war will not occur because war "has become too destructive". There are many now who believe that with the passing of the kings and emperors and the development of republican forms of government in Europe, supplemented by the hatred of war which has been developed in the hearts and minds of the masses of the people, a further recourse to war is extremely remote. In relation to these matters, is not the ignorance of the fathers and mothers, husbands and wives, and sons and daughters of America an outstanding feature of our life today, as was in August, 1914, the ignorance of European families?

IS not history repeating itself in the failure of American families to look about in the world, and to take note of the great preparations going on for another war? France will not reduce her great military establishment because of the German menace. Germany pleads for the right to increase her forces because of the possibility of Russian Bolshevist aggression. Germany is outside the League. Russia is outside the League. America is outside the League. So far as the Covenant of the League is concerned, these three mighty powers, with tremendous resources for making war and with relatively an unlimited man power for the waging of war, are free and unfettered to make a war when, and upon whom, they please. It cannot be expected that the nations within the League who are seeking in an orderly way to reduce armament and to maintain the supremacy of world law and order, can prudently give up their reliance upon military might for protection while these

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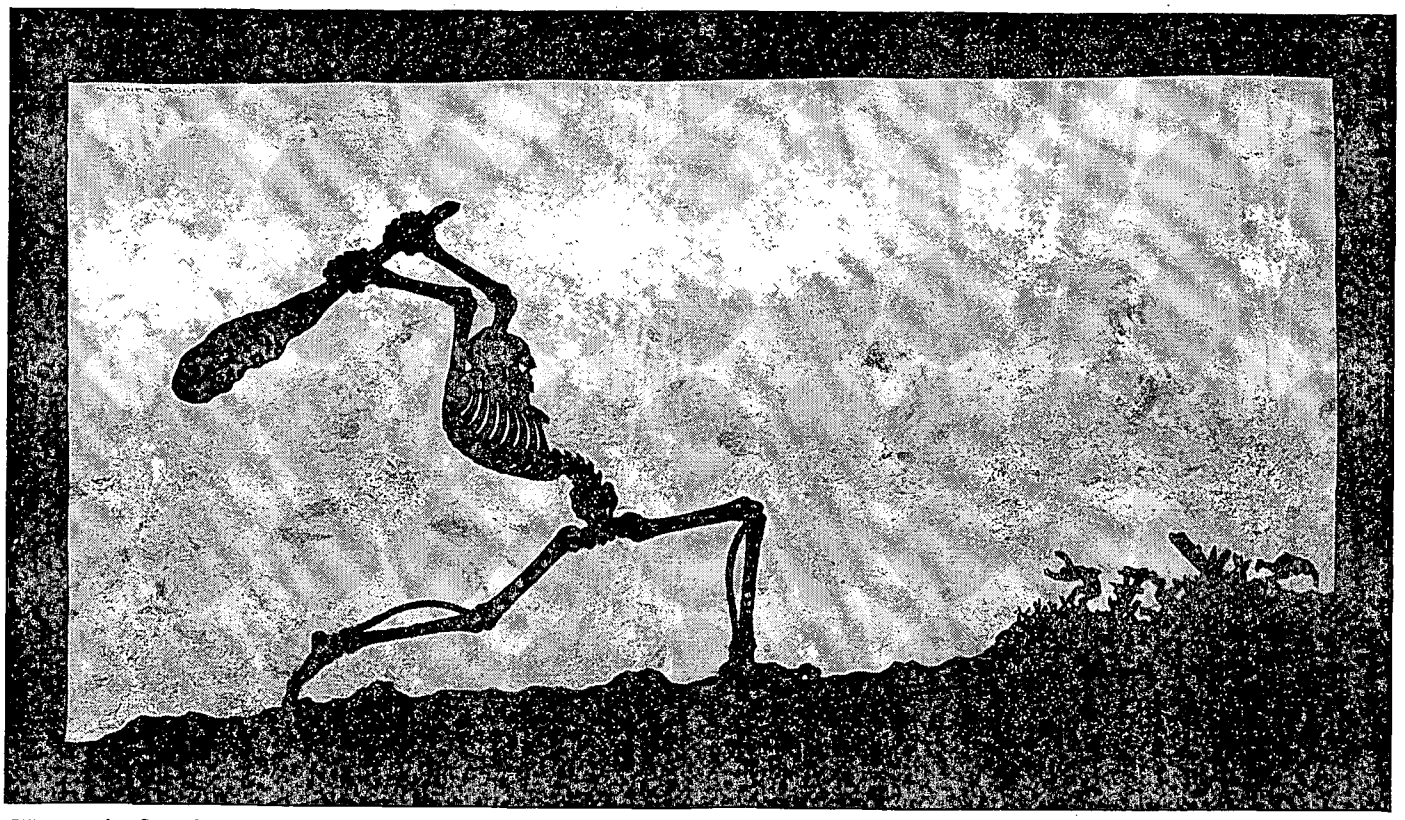
three governments are left free of the restrictions and mutual undertakings of the Covenant. The member nations are in a position where they cannot yet give up entirely the old order of things—reliance upon force—while these three continue under the old order of things.

In all the great governments of the world today scholarly and industrious men are working out in every detail the manner in which the boys of civilization are to be employed in the next war. They are determining how they shall be drafted, physically examined and classified, mobilized, trained, transported to the theatre of operations and led into the shambles of the battlefield; how other boys shall be prepared and moved forward to replace the slain with as little delay as possible; how the bodies of the dead shall be most readily disposed of—whether by cremation or by burial. All of this is going on today in a very much more thorough way than such preparation was carried on in 1914, because of the military lessons derived by soldiers from the great war. Yet here in America the people seem blind to it. That this preparation is necessary is not the fault of the soldier, for he is but carrying out in loyal manner the policy of his government. So long as the people continue to be blind to these things, as the people of 1914 were, in effect, blind to them, just so long will the political representatives of the people be likely to permit the government to drift along with its existing policy—going it alone in the world, free of the mutual obligations undertaken by practically the rest of the civilized world. And just so long as that policy continues, military and naval preparation for war must continue in order to make that policy effective. It is, therefore, a matter of common sense that the war preparation should not be negligent and casual, but thorough and adequate. Can it be said that the people of this country today are any less blind to these preparations for another war than the European peoples of 1914 appear to have been?

TRUE there are some who visualize all these things and who deplore them but who profess not to see in the League of Nations the effective solution. Some say the League is lacking in adequate power to enforce the decrees of its court. Yet, others claim that the League has too much power under the Covenant. It is amazing how few people have really read the Covenant of the League of Nations. Many believe it to be a document of formidable length, whereas it contains but 34 articles, most of them quite short. No fatal decision can be made by joining the League because it is the right of any member to withdraw upon giving reasonable notice of such intention.

Obviously, the League of Nations for the first few decades of its life will, like a newly-born child, be lacking in manhood strength and will need support and development. That was the early history of our own Constitution. Obviously too, the greatest support that can be given the League at the present time, and the greatest impulse in furtherance of world law and order, would be the entry of the United States into League membership. Such action would almost certainly be followed by the admission of Germany and Russia. The withholding of American membership is arresting mightily the development of the League and is jeopardizing world peace.

Now ten years after the commencement of the war, and five years after its close, almost the greatest world event that can transpire would be the entry of the United States into the League of Nations. Then would follow almost automatically the suppression of war and the substitution of law in determining the rights of peoples and their governments.



Silhouette by Grossek

*Destruction*

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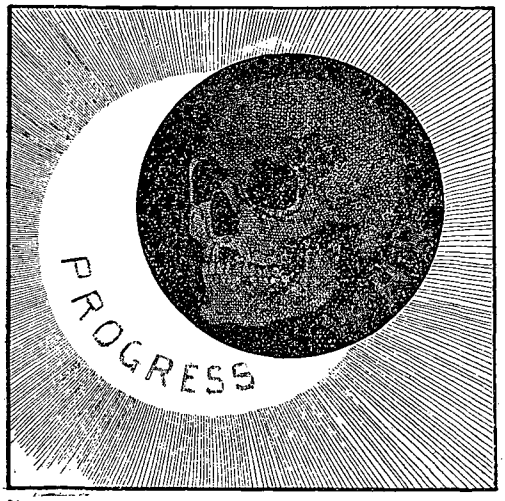
# With Eyes Open

Ten years after the event, these cartoons from the American press—drawn and published in the month before the war began and the first month of fighting, and gathered up in September, 1914, by the American Association for International Conciliation – reflect the ironical futility of human intelligence. We knew what war was in 1914: the world plunged in with open eyes. Can we trust our abhorrence of war, strengthened though it may have been in the last ten years, to prevent its recurrence? Must we not build organized defenses against our own unstable emotions, and against the purposeless momentum of the war system?




Morgan in the Philadelphia Enquirer

*The Eclipse*

Cesare in the New York Sun

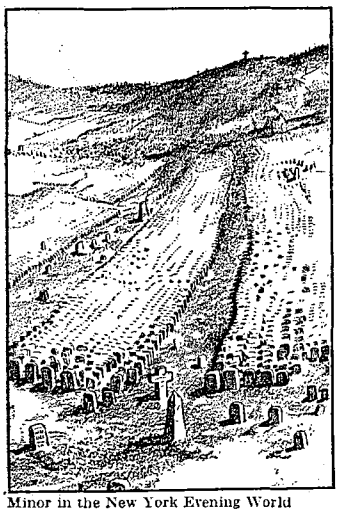
*The Man with the Sword*

Bowen in the Chicago Herald

*The Burden of War*

Sykes in the Philadelphia Ledger

*It Was Loaded*



Minor in the New York Evening World

*The Next Mobilization*

Harding in the Brooklyn Daily Eagle

*Nineteen Centuries After Christ*

Kessler in the New York Evening Sun

*The Wolf at the Door*

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# The War and Ourselves

By ROBERT HERRICK

RECENTLY in rearranging my library I came across that extensive shelf which houses my war books, a shelf much too long for the intrinsic value of the publications (including my own contributions). Yet it contains but a very small fragment of the enormous total of what was published about the war, even of that produced on behalf of the victorious combatants. On the other side, so largely unknown to us still, there must have been an equal if not greater mass of "war literature." If both sides could be induced to read and ponder the outpourings of "the enemy," much enlightenment would result even now, and a wholesome wonder in the realization that the hated enemy felt almost precisely as we did in the crisis and considered their emotions also holy and irrevocable. In my collection are "The Ordeal of Battle" with that monumental composite of fiction, "The Bryce Report on Belgian Atrocities," Romaine Rolland's plaintive cry in the whirlwind, "Above the Battle" (so universally ignored by those superior spirits of letters and learning to whom it was addressed) and, together with bitter defamations of "the Hun" in "Such as They Are," "The Barbarians," etc., etc., are Barbusse's drab pictures of the actualities of modern war, and Masefield's epic of "Gallipoli,"—one of the very few books from the war that can endure because with the poet's sense of indestructible beauty he celebrated youth's magnificent courage and sacrifice. There are many volumes of war poetry, their glow fading from Allen Seager and Rupert Brooke to the sardonic disillusionment of Sassoon; many fictions and many "histories" already become fiction; then the "revelations" from which bit by bit may be pieced together the dirty cobwebs of diplomatic intrigue; and finally the prolific apologetics for the crowning infamy of the whole business,—the books about the peace treaties. Almost the only ones that still glow are the collections of letters from soldiers at the front during the first two years. These men knew little of the coil in which they were caught: they fought and died in the ardent faith that they were giving their lives to found a new and better world, as they were abundantly told by journalists and politicians.

As my eye runs over this long shelf there is a notable decline in the emotional content of the volumes chronologically arranged, in the quality of sincere conviction, until the lot runs out into a marsh of apocryphal history and muddy controversy over the legalistic and economic aspects of treaty iniquities.

*In such a world as ours the pacifist would seem to be the anomaly that the militarist calls him, but he is really the only logician left.*

The grandeur and beauty of the war—whatever it had—was largely confined to those first two ignorant years. The further the light of fact and of reason penetrated its murky cloud the less that was memorable or creditable to the human race remained of its early myths—until in the wrangle over the peace treaties we seem to reach absolute zero in human mentality and morality. This progressive devolution of the war record symbolizes for me quite accurately the course of my own reactions to the war, out of which have come such perceptions of its lessons as I have been able to comprehend.

I welcome this opportunity of summarizing for myself the answer to that question so often put to me: why did my attitude on the war change from that of the fervid partisan of the Allies and their cause as expressed in my signed articles written for the editorial page of the *Chicago Sunday Tribune* (1914-1917) and in my war book, "The World Decision" (1916) to that of hesitation and doubt—a "defeatist" I was sometimes called in 1917, 1918—to that of pacifist, flat and plain, as at present? Why do I no longer see the cause of the Allies as the "Holy War," "the war to end war," the struggle of "right against might," "civilization against barbarism," etc., etc. (how terribly rancid those old cries have become in a few short years!)? Why was it that after spending the best part of two years in Italy and France urging with all the strength of conviction in the rather pro-German columns of an American newspaper that my country should join the Allies in fighting "autocracy," I should gradually lose my faith in the cause I had championed as the possible salvation of humanity from the materialism of a too sudden wealth? At the moment when the United States after infinite debate and hesitation had decided to enter the lists! The answer is simple: I had seen too much, heard too much, knew too much.

I had seen at close range the dramatic process of putting an unwilling people into the war (superbly staged in Rome) after the dirty bargain had been signed and sealed a month previously in London—though until the last the Austrian ambassador argued at the Consulta while his train was being held in the station, offering a few more concessions if Italy would reconsider the decision of her rulers to take the Allies' bribe. I had learned some of the terms of the secret treaties, agreements between the allied powers as to the division of booty which did not accord with the pious protestations of their statesmen and publicists. Who did not know them in Europe? although President Wilson seems to have preserved a stainless ignorance of these fundamental conditions of the peace, when he led his country to Armageddon. And from personal observation, fairly extensive on the Front and behind, I had come to realize what war is, how it is organized and run, and what it means to the little man and his people, who bear its burden directly and pay for it with their blood and happiness.

I saw—it did not require the vision of a prophet—how



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unlikely it was that any just or clear solution to the issue would come out of the bottomless sink of hatreds and greeds. I realized with a strange forboding that spring day in Rome when the first news of America's participation in the war reached me how mentally and spiritually unprepared my people were for the European mess. Well, we know now what they did in the war and what they failed to do at the peace conference, and how, befogged and disillusioned, they drew away from Europe just when they might have been of some real use to the world, because of their fundamental ignorance of the situation confronting them.

And this thought leads me back to that shelf of obsolete literature. For four years and more it seemed that every person who knew how to write and was not engaged in active service was trying to convince somebody of something about the war. The immense importance of the printed word in influencing modern societies became evident within a few weeks of the fatal débacle of diplomats and statesmen in Europe. Patently, this is a cerebral age, and operations of society on a large scale must depend upon the support of a public opinion that can be created and moulded more swiftly by the press and allied agencies than in any other way. Hence the sudden revival of that engine of the Jesuits (first used, I believe, to convert to Christianity the Teutonic tribes) whose college in Rome I have so often passed irreflectively, with its motto in large black letters,—*"Propaganda pro Deo et fidei."*

Men's minds fell an easy prey to war propaganda, whose object it need hardly be explained was not truth but action. I had too much to do with propaganda during the war delirium to respect this method of control of the national mind. It used to be bread and circuses, then rum and dollars, now it has become "the press" and the publicity bureau, psychological agencies no more respectable and infinitely more dangerous than the others.

One inevitable result of the virulence of war propaganda has been to weaken popular faith in the printed word, in ideas themselves, because the instrument of intelligence has been so shamefully abused. It will not be possible for a long, long time to "put a nation into the war" by skilful propaganda,—to "sell America the war"! Because men have become conscious of the forces brought to play upon them. Moreover it has led to a more intensive study of the processes of thought, psychologic laws, and to a greater awareness of the dangers of rationalization by means of which passions and prejudices become justified, even sanctified. The generation now growing to maturity may appear to their elders more cynically agnostic, less capable of "generous enthusiasms" than their own—also perhaps less gullible, less duped by their own emotions, let us hope!

One of the things that most troubled tender minded Americans, who took any real concern in the war those first years, was the spectacle of their own people wrangling and disputing, victims of a multiform propaganda, while their busy business men said nothing and sawed wood, very profitably. Here was the paradox: the Allies must have the material, the provisions and munitions and money, that Americans were providing so profitably, and yet there was something morally repulsive in the idea of a great people sitting safely on the side lines in what we believed was a moral conflict of the first magnitude and busily making money out of the world tragedy. Even more repulsive, when from various reasons, high and low, we found ourselves at last in the maelstrom to have our large business organizations doing business with their own government at huge profit, and in company with organized labor holding up the *res publica* for their private gain, while other men because they happened to be younger were losing their businesses and their lives in fighting—for which moral obliquity we are now to pay sentimentally in vicious bonus schemes. The plain fact is, one that even such a conservative as our late President could perceive (also the platform makers of the present Democratic convention) there should be no profiteers in war, not a one, either nation or individual. It is already pretty well understood that war profits are largely paper profits, illusory, but even the illusion of profiteering must be impossible in another war. If that truth becomes incorporated in common conviction, as seems likely, one incentive to war, still more to the "bitter ending" of war, will be removed.

*In spite of the lugubrious comments of our legalists and politicians we should welcome the appearance of multiple parties and legislative blocs as evidence of the individualising and clarifying of purposes in the public mind—of growth to a new order of things.*

*For that some kind of reorganization of society is on the way seems beyond doubt, too vast in its reach for us to comprehend who see but the first phases, the chaos with no clear drift on its surface.*

There are of course other sorts of war panderers than the simple profiteer. The lessons of a predatory peace and subsequent incidents, especially concerning valuable "mandates," have not been wholly lost upon the public mind. At least there has been revealed even to the moderately intelligent the biggest secret of secret diplomacy—the close connection of private capitalistic enterprise with government policies and the making of wars. In the effort to control raw materials and markets modern states have become partners or trustees in the business enterprises of groups of their nationals. Americans, for example, are rapidly learning the extent to which their government is becoming "involved" in the Caribbean and Central America through the operations of private bankers and corporations. They will be able to make up their minds whether the proper function of government in international affairs is to represent the interest of special groups or not. They will know, thanks to the trend of events since Versailles, exactly what the term "preparedness" covers in the minds of militarists and of big business, so that it will hardly be possible to window-dress the next "defensive" war in the same specious terms of patriotism as the last.

Perhaps the one most depressing revelation of the past ten years has been the failure of democracy plus plutocracy to provide great leadership in crisis. The war was bungled into and largely run by opportunist politicians—mediocrities who crumbled altogether under the test of peace and reconstruction, and fortunately have almost to a man dis-

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appeared from the world scene. The blame for this lack has been commonly put upon the working of democracy; the parliaments of European democracies were closed at the outbreak of their struggle with Teutonic autocracy and as far as possible were kept shut through the war, their rulers afraid of their own institutions. This disbelief in the democratic principle, in representative government, has grown woefully since the Armistice, both among the masses who feel that representative institutions are too easily manipulated to their oppression by the privileged classes and among "our best minds" who find "the mob" too difficult and dangerous. Hence the paradox that in a brief half dozen years since the conclusion of a world war waged professedly by the victors to save the world for democracy from the tyranny of autocracy the autocratic principle has temporarily triumphed throughout the world. We now have two forms of autocracy to choose from instead of one: the Tory mind takes refuge in some form of facism—and force, while the proletariat mind seeks communism—and force. A bitter choice for the peaceable-minded! Such a situation, however, explodes the silly anthropomorphism of war psychology, which created the myth of German diabolism. The Hun, we can see, is in our midst in every nation, not conveniently grouped in a single unit of sixty-five millions to be excoriated and exterminated. The war, we discover, was not between democracy and kaiserism, as we were told, but is and always will be between the hun-minded and the free-minded.

*The world waits not only for the final disappearance of the leadership that perpetuated war in peace but also for a change in its own spirit of which it is becoming conscious. Every now and then there is a gleam of hope. When a socialist and pacifist becomes prime minister of England, even for a few months on sufferance, it would seem that a new generation is knocking at the door. One that desires to forget the follies of its fathers and start over. This generation may create instead of a League of Nations a Parliament of Peoples—if the spirit of men has changed sufficiently to use it.*

If the chief concern at Versailles had been for the preservation and development of "free institutions," through a peace of reconciliation and disarmament, instead of for "mandates," "reparations," and "national aspirations" for other people's possessions, there would be more wealth in the world today and a better prospect of enduring peace. Even the peace-makers themselves and those who sneered most cynically at "Wilsonian idealism" would admit the fact after a five years' experience with the results of the vindictive and predatory settlement of the war. An astounding crop of antagonisms—national, racial, religious—has sprung from the war and the peace, carrying in them the seeds of new wars. Our best minds, with the same instincts and the same fears that made the world war and the peace that was no peace, are inclined to use the same measures of repression—upon "the Red," the "inferior race," etc. and to distrust democratic institutions,—what they call the "mob mind."

The Whites when they get the upper hand are as ruthless and almost as bloody as the Reds, as in Italy: they care for law and order only as long as they make the laws and keep the order. So, in sum, it would seem safer not to trust the leadership of "the strong man," the "best minds," the aristocratic few, but to blunder on in a dark world with the broadest possible suffrage in the delegation of power. In spite of the lugubrious comments of our legalists and politicians we should welcome the appearance of multiple parties and legislative blocs as evidence of the individualizing and clarifying of purposes in the public mind—of growth to a new order of things.

For that some kind of reorganization of society is on the way seems beyond doubt, too vast in its reach for us to comprehend who see but the first phases, the chaos with no clear drift on its surface. The old order where President Harding could complacently declare in his last utterance on foreign relations that property rights alone are subject for international treaties must give place to some larger conception.

The efforts of right-minded men and women to outlaw war or regulate it as an institution of society arouse mingled feelings of sympathy and despair. The agitation over the process, whether World Court or Bok plan or League of Nations with or without reservations, savors of the quackery that treats elaborately the symptoms of disease without searching for the cause. It is a misfortune that our one contribution to the peace treaties should have been cast in the set forms of eighteenth century thought, that it should have been rejected by its own people after a constitutional wrangle supplemented by a muddled election campaign. What English opinion favored, a flexible association of peoples to provide an opportunity without narrow limitations for a full parliament of nations, had more promise in it of growth—as societies grow by perception of possibilities, by weight of accomplishment. If the wise ones of Versailles had agreed to cancel all war debts, refusing to burden future generations with the sins of the past, instead of creating a reparations commission as an instrument of interminable extortion, something more real than the debating society at Geneva might well have resulted.

As it is, the world waits not only for the final disappearance of the leadership that perpetuated war in peace but also for a change in its own spirit of which it is becoming conscious. Every now and then there is a gleam of hope. When a socialist and pacifist becomes prime minister of England, even for a few months on sufferance, it would seem that a new generation is knocking at the door. One that desires to forget the follies of its fathers and start over. This generation may create instead of a League of Nations that Parliament of Peoples—if the spirit of men has changed sufficiently to use it.

In such a world as ours the pacifist would seem to be the anomaly that the militarist calls him, but he is really the only logician left. That war rarely achieves any good was sufficiently understood by a wise minority before 1914. But that war can accomplish nothing whatever but evil, to victor, vanquished, and neutral alike, was never so widely acknowledged, so honestly believed as now.

Nobody wants war, any more than typhoid or other human affliction; the only difference of opinion is whether war can be prevented, whether or not it (*Continued on page* 525)

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# Seven Roads To Peace

By JAMES G. McDONALD

THE peace forces of the country are again militant. Vastly increased in numbers, well organized and well informed, they are waging an intensive offensive on many fronts. They have learned well the bitter disillusioning lessons of the war and the peace treaties. They are challenging vigorously all of the hitherto generally accepted shibboleths of our militarists.

They know that criticism is easier than constructive accomplishment. They realize more and more the complexity of present-day international relations. They do not underestimate the stupendous difficulties inherent in the task of abolishing the war system. Yet they face it courageously.

The very recent but now common use of the phrase "the war system" is indicative of this deeper understanding of the problems of war and peace. It implies that war is not an accident, not usually the result of the whim or caprice of a ruler or military clique, nor even usually the deliberately chosen weapon of ambitious imperialisms. Peace seekers now believe war to be the result basically of:

(1) Distorted conceptions of national sovereignty, honor, rights and duties
(2) Fundamental social, racial and economic maladjustments in modern society
(3) The lack of adequate international cooperative machinery to assure to all peoples fair access to the resources and markets of the world.

How to eliminate these causes of war? Only a few unrepresentative groups believe that there is an easy path to peace through simple formulas or comprehensive panaceas. On the contrary, the prevailing belief is that the war system will be ended only through the gradual and painful creation of a world opinion which recognizes war as murder and which substitutes for the habit of organized slaughter the habit of judicial and other peaceful methods of adjusting the causes of friction between peoples.

How is it proposed that our government or we as citizens can best help towards the achievement of these ends? The answers which come from organizations and leaders are many. But seven plans are especially significant because they are inherently sound and because in different ways each is beginning to quicken the conscience and enlighten the intelligence of the masses of our people. These include:

(1) Revision of the peace treaties
(2) Referendum before declaration of war
(3) Refusal to sanction or participate in war
(4) Adherence to the Permanent Court of International Justice and membership in the League of Nations
(5) The outlawry of war and the codification of international law
(6) The American Draft Treaty of Disarmament and Security
(7) An informed public opinion on all major questions of foreign policy.

It is interesting that this long list does not include "Self-Determination," "Democracy, a Guarantee of Peace," "The Freedom of the Seas," "War to end War." These favorite war-time slogans have in practice been proved either so vague as to be inapplicable or so capable of abuse as to be almost valueless. Self determination has created as many problems as it has solved. Democracies are by no means invariably pacific. Freedom of the seas, short of complete scrappingg or international pooling of naval and aerial armaments, is an empty phrase. The war-time propaganda that a smashing military victory makes for permanent peace has been sadly disproved by events since 1918.

Popular sentiment here for treaty revision is limited for the most part to radicals and liberals. It is none the less a force to be reckoned with. Its latest expression is in the platform on which Senator LaFollette is running for the presidency. "We favor an active foreign policy to bring about a revision of the Versailles Treaty, in accordance with the terms of the armistice." Whether such revision is in fact effected through formal action or by indirection as through the Dawes Report is immaterial. Certainly treaty revision is an essential first step towards European peace and, therefore, towards world peace.

That the people themselves should have the right to vote on the questions of war and peace is a belief of widening influence. It is insisted upon without qualification in the LaFollette platform; it appears in attenuated form in the Democratic platform. Its growing popularity is symptomatic of the deepening conviction among the mass of the people that international affairs cannot safely be left to the sole control of politicians, but instead that those who must bear the brunt of war should themselves make the final fateful decision.

THOSE who pledge themselves to refuse to bear arms or to perform any service in support of a future war are the shock troops of the peace army. Their courage and devotion to principle is an invaluable asset to the cause. The number of absolute pacifists increases daily, especially among young men and women. One significant manifestation of this was the vote of seven hundred students at the Indianapolis Student Volunteer Convention in December, 1923, "not to sanction or participate in any future wars." A direct outgrowth of the action of these students was the formation of the Fellowship of Youth for Peace. The members of this Fellowship adopt the following pledge:

> Recognizing that the method of war is self-defeating, involving greater evils than it can remove, and is contrary to my understanding of the spirit and principles of Jesus, I am impelled to turn from it and to rely instead upon the creative power of love. . . .
>
> And since war inevitably involves violation of these principles [of Jesus] I find myself unable to take part in it.

Prompt adherence to the Permanent Court of International Justice is almost universally supported. At the recent hearings on this subject before the sub-committtee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, more than forty state and national organizations represented by their official spokesmen, urged immediate action by the Senate. It is significant that the organized churches, organized labor, organized women voters, organized members of the Bar, organized university women, organized merchants, or-



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ganized business and professional women, organized women's clubs and organized teachers, representing a vast majority of the voters of the United States, were able to unite not merely on an abstract question of principle, but on the specific proposal of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Coolidge as the best practical means by which our government could give its support to the Permanent Court.

CURRENT League of Nations sentiment is difficult to estimate accurately. The League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, which is gradually building up a country-wide organization, insists that there is an overwhelming popular sentiment for our government's entrance into the league. This is doubtful. Whereas more than forty national organizations formally endorsed the Permanent Court, less than a fourth of those same groups are formally committed to the support of the league. The Republican Party this year reiterates its determination not to go into the league, while the Democrats satisfy themselves with an equivocal position. The politicians of both parties have registered unmistakably their conviction that the majority opinion is not for the league.

But neither, apparently, is the majority opinion anti-league. Rather, the league is now generally approved as a going concern, which is believed to be functioning usefully as an essentially European organization. The bitter hostility of the 1920 campaign has died down, in part because the true character of the league is now much better understood. It is seen as a promising organ of international cooperation and not as in any sense a super-state or a league to enforce peace. Yet much of the heat and passion of the last campaign might again be revived if the league were now to become a major political issue.

The humanitarian and non-political activities of the league have evoked here almost universal approval and a considerable degree of active support. Our government's timid measures of cooperation with the league in matters of health, drugs, traffic in women and children, etc., have evoked no criticism. Instead, with singular unanimity, public opinion urges that these modest beginnings be expanded as fully as possible. Almost without exception, all of the organizations which support the World Court will support this stand. Perhaps the United States' ultimate full membership in the league may be achieved rather through this process of co-operating on specific subjects in gradually widening spheres of activities, than through direct and formal acceptance of the league as a whole.

The "outlawry of war," a phrase first widely used in this country only a few years ago by Salmon O. Levinson, Chicago lawyer, and more recently given wide publicity through its use by Senator Borah, has already become a potent force. Though its exact connotations are little understood and the difficulties inherent in making it a reality are even less realized, this simple slogan has gained an amazing acceptance. President Harding gave it respectability. The Democratic platform uses it. Its nearly universal acceptance is having an educational effect of incalculable value. In proportion as the masses of the people come to see that wholesale slaughter is, like murder, a crime, there will be built up an overwhelming repugnance to war, which may, even in great crises, be sufficient to preserve peace.

It is this educational effect of the phrase which is now of the greatest importance. We are a nation of phrase-makers—one might almost add, phrase worshippers. In the past we have in international relations been blindly and unquestioningly devoted to two principles, the "Monroe Doctrine" and the "Open Door." Perhaps now we shall add a third," the "Outlawry of War." If we do, a large step will have been taken towards world peace. In addition to its vast "propaganda" value, the outlawry of war principle, when and if coupled with its supplementary ideas—the gradual development of a comprehensive body of international law, applicable ultimately to such vital economic problems as equitable access to markets and raw matreials, the develpoment of a more and more effective international judiciary—may contribute materially, perhaps even decisively, towards the reign of law among nations.

A VERY suggestive concrete proposal for the outlawry of aggressive war is contained in the "Draft Treaty of Disarmament and Security," which is discussed elsewhere in this issue of The Survey by Professor James T. Shotwell, one of the members of the American group which prepared it. Already very widespread interest has been shown in this plan. Particularly important are the indications that radical and liberal groups heretofore not willing to support the League of Nations are favorably inclined towards this proposal. Since the Draft Treaty will be discussed at the September meeting of the Assembly of the League, it is very important that discussion in this country on it should take concrete form as soon as possible. The text of the treaty, together with a commentary prepared in consultation with Professor Shotwell, are available through the Foreign Policy Association.

Supplementing and in a sense coordinating all of the other programs already discussed are the activities of the Foreign Policy Association, with which the writer is associated. This Association grew out of a series of dinner-conferences attended by forty to fifty editors, writers and students of international affairs during the summer of 1918. At the time of the Armistice, a group of a few hundred men and women organized for the purpose of encouraging in this country the study of concrete problems of American foreign policy. Since then the membership has increased to several thousand with representatives in nearly every state and with branch organizations in many of the chief cities. Through its technical sub-committees on our government's relations with Mexico, Russia, the Caribbean, the Lausanne Treaty, etc., which make available to the public the results of their study; through its luncheon discussions on concrete problems of foreign policy, at which meetings invariably all the maior points of view are represented; through the active cooperation of its staff and members with large national organizations in the development of their programs on international affairs, the Association is functioning as an active force for the education of public opinion. The growth of the Foreign Policy Association is but one indication that foreign affairs are no longer to be considered as removed from the knowledge or concern of the people.

Thus from at least seven different angles the peace forces of the country are marching against the arch-enemy of civilization, war. The battle will be long, the issue frequently uncertain, but if the years since the Armistice are a fair augury of future developments, then the intelligence with which the crusade is directed and the moral fervor with which it is carried out will insure ultimate victory.

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# The Church Wakes

By GEORGE ELLIOTT, D. D., LL. D.

ONE question was frequently asked in the earlier years of the Great War: Has Christianity failed? Probably the sanest answer was that of Gilbert Keith Chesteston: Christianity has not failed; it has not been tried.

Today it is more generally recognized that this chaos was caused by the triumph in both Church and State of selfishness over brotherhood and of matter over spirit. The Christian Church is slowly beginning to realize that war, which may have had some human elements in the past, is today solely a materialistic affair.

Yet the church was largely to blame for the failure to apply Christianity to all life. Its work was confined too closely to saving souls from hell rather than saving business from baseness, politics from pollution and society from selfishness. Nearly all atheism, agnosticism and the breaking down of spiritual ethics has been caused by this failure to proclaim a social as well as an individual gospel. And the Church is beginning to see it, thuogh probably not fully to confess it.

Modern Christianity scholarship has aided greatly the present revival of applied Christianity. None of the creeds and confessions of all church history had placed any emphasis on the supreme teaching of Jesus, such as the Kingdom of God and spiritual ethics. But the transfer of faith from ancient creeds to Christ did bring about a new type of preaching, which is creating a new Christian consciousness, one which can see nothing but sin in jingo patriotism, in racial hatred, in selfish nationalism and above all in fear and force as the chief instruments for the settlement of the problems of political justice.

This kingdom of which Christ is ruler is growing faster and is far wider than the church itself. Such modern mystics as Bishop Fred Fisher of Calcutta, India, recognize in such brahmins as Mahatma Gandhi and such moslems as Mahomet Ali the conquering spirit of Christ. Outside of the organized church whose business it is to establish His kingdom, He is reigning in countless human hearts. And one of the planks in the platform of His policy is "Blessed are the peace makers."

The world-wide revolutionary movement toward democracy is another element in this pacific progress. All militarism is necessarily autocratic. During war there is freedom neither of speech nor of action. The war psychosis involves a standardization of opinion which is the death of mental and moral liberty. But reaction against this spiritual slavery has set in. The principle of "self-determination" announced by Woodrow Wilson is not only supplanting imperialism with political democracy, but is pushing the world toward industrial, social, and spiritual democracy.

Another really religious element in this progress toward peace is that is known as the Revolt of Youth. It was the men of the past generation who led our young soldiery to horrible butchery. Is it any wonder that youthful idealism today breaks loose from yesterday and claims to be the true creator of tomorrow? The church is being mightily influenced by the message of its coming membership.

Such forces have powerfully affected the Christian churches of the present year. That remarkable "Copec" convention at Birmingham, England, the Methodist General Conference at Springfield, Mass., the Presbyterian General Assembly at Grand Rapids, Mich., the Northern Baptist Convention at Milwaukee, Wis., and Congregational meetings in a number of states have taken decidedly forward action for the promotion of world peace. None of these denominations keeps full step with the Society of Friends, that one religious body which has won the respect of all the world by its humanitarian service during and since the war, but all have been stirred by the conviction of the wickedness of war and the need of outlawing it as an international crime. War is no longer to be glorified and Government must cease to ignore the personal Christian conscience both in times of peace and war.

Some sections both of the "Copec" and the American bodies were unable to denounce all war. Some assumed that there might be such a thing as righteous war, "indisputably in self-defense or in defense of humanity." But a growing number hold that the word "defense" is a deceitful term. If Japan should use force to compel the cancella-

*Seven years ago the official organizations and journals of the Protestant denominations were doing everything in their power to aid the government in mobilizing America for "the war to end war." They were sincerely persuaded that Christian civilization could be preserved only by force of arms. Something has happened to the thinking of the churches since that day. In their national conventions, the Methodists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Baptists and other major denominations have declared their enmity to all war—not in the usual platitudes, but with a deep emotional current of conviction. They are for outlawing war once and for all. Some of these utterances are quoted on the opposite page; here we have asked Dr. Elliott to trace some of the factors which have brought about the change.*

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tion of our immigration policy, which certainly will not happen, she would do it in defense of humanity and the United States would fight her in self-defense!

All of these ecclesiastical bodies are forming educational programs on the principles of peace and international relations. All plead for disarmament and favor an International Court of Justice. They ask for the cooperation of "the religious forces of the world." Possibly that last phrase, used in the Methodist report, did not consciously include Romanists, Jews, Moslems or ethnic religions. But would not such a concentration of all spiritual forces of the earth upon this glorious objective of universal brotherhood be a genuine marching in the footsteps of Christ?

I am confident that this opposition to all war and this movement toward universal peace is capturing not only the Christian conscience but is beginning to master the mind of the world.

# The Church Speaks

THE Friends, of course, lead the field. Their historic position on war has always been unequivocal, and their latest statement is no less so. They say,

We see two paths before us. One leads inevitably to another war by renewed preparedness of the most efficient military, economic, educational and religious means of waging it. The other begins with a complete rejection of war, and of all preparations for it, for any purpose and against any people; it demands definite organization for peace. These two paths lie in opposite directions; we cannot possibly follow them both. There is no shadow of doubt on which of them are found the footprints and the sign-posts of Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Congregationalists in four different regional conventions have expressed themselves in as many different ways, but all in the same spirit. The body which met in southern California last May spoke its mind in part as follows:

We, therefore, declare our opposition to the war system involving war propaganda, war preparations, military training in our schools and colleges, race prejudice, economic exploitation and religious intolerance as inconsistent with Christ's spirit and example. . . . We announce that we cannot conscientiously take part in propaganda or preparations looking toward war.

The last General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church pledges all its energies to the outlawing of war: "We refuse to believe that the wholesale slaughter of human beings upon the battle field is morally any more necessary to man's highest development than is killing by individuals." It invites the cooperation of all Christendom "in a determined effort to devise such complete machinery for peace as shall insure the settlement of all international controversies by reason instead of force." It favors the participation of the United States with other nations in the Court of International Justice, and concludes with the statement that "the teachings of Christ furnish the only basis and hope of permanent peace."

The northern Baptists declare their conviction that "war is a wrong method for settling international disputes, and that because it is wrong the church must not only condemn war and the things which make for war, but must take active part in discovering and promoting the things which make for peace." It also favors the permanent Court of International Justice and urges our government to unite with other nations in that Court "to create a rational system of settling international disputes in order that we may keep faith with the youth of our country who served so well in the World War which they believed would end war."

The most practicable steps taken to outlaw war are those of the Methodists in whose utterance on this subject there is a note of grim determination that rises to heights of tragic sublimity. After damning the whole war system as the supreme enemy of mankind they propose to it by an educational process.

We set ourselves to create the will to peace. . . . Through its educational program, our church must mold the present youth of all races into a peace-loving generation. We shall launch an aggressive campaign to teach the nature, causes and consequences of war. The glorification of war must end.

We set ourselves to create the condition for peace. Selfish nationalism, economic imperialism and militarism must cease. The establishment of the principle that conscription of wealth and labor must be the counterpart of any future conscription of human life will be a powerful deterrent against war. . . . The rights of the smallest nation must be held as sacred as those of the strongest. We hold the cause of peace dearer than party allegiance, and we shall tolerate no dilatory or evasive attitudes on the part of those who represent us.

We set ourselves to create organization for peace. Grateful to our Government for its leadership in the movement toward reduction of armaments and the promotion of tribunals for international arbitration, we insist upon a more decided and aggressive policy in these directions. We urge our President to summon another conference of the nations for the more drastic reduction of armaments. We demand the immediate entrance of the United States into the Permanent Court of International Justice. The participation of the United States in a league of nations will receive our active support. We shall elect men to public office pledged to secure these ends. The ballot and other direct processes of democracy must now be employed in securing a warless world.

World Christianity is enlisting in the campaign for peace. We seek allegiance with all the forces which make for the principles here advocated. We, therefore, propose that our church now assume its responsibility by appointing at this General Conference a commission of twenty-five members, composed of five Bishops, ten ministers, and ten laymen, authorized and instructed to call a conference of the religious forces of the world to consider the best plans and methods for making the impact of united Christendom against the evils we deplore. The principles of brotherhood are so plainly challenged. The progress of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ is clearly at stake. The issues are so momentous, the opportunity for leadership is so great that we here and now call upon all peoples to avoid devious and fruitless discussions and unite their energies in this great crusade for a war-free world. To this sublime end we dedicate ourselves, and for its accomplishment invoke the blessing of Almighty God.



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# "Doing" the Battlefields

By A. EVELYN NEWMAN

LAST summer I went to Paris, hoping to banish the haunting memories of war service from April, 1917, to June, 1919. Whenever I had come to Paris then, it had thrilled me; my hotel in the old Rue des Saints Pères had an atmosphere of quiet assurance even in those days of air raids and big Berthas and there was courtesy upon the streets and in the shops. Last summer, Paris was pandemonium. My same hotel room on Rue des Saints Pères was frightfully noisy. It was as much as one's life was worth to take a taxi or mount a bus; people pushed past you everywhere; Paris seemed impatient and irritated with American and English visitors. Courtesy and politeness were still found in stores and shops and, individually, I was the recipient of many thoughtful acts of kindness. But quiet seemed fled.

The American Express Company was conducting sight-seeing trips to the battlefields. I went on the two-day trip in a *charabanc* holding twelve passengers, all American women —two teachers, four well-to-do middle-aged wives, a young war widow seeking her husband's grave, her five-year-old daughter, her mother, a librarian, my friend, and myself. Our chauffeur, a Frenchman, had been an ambulance driver; our guide was an English captain, thrice wounded and gassed, living in France because he could find nothing to do in England to support his wife and child. He had the war psychology of France.

That whole trip of two days was a prolonged nightmare to me. Chauffeur and guide fed these American women with hate propaganda every inch of the way.

In Armistice Glade just outside Campiègne, the arch, erected by the Paris Matin in memory of fallen French soldiers, was surrounded by a group of about fifty school boys to whom a priest was telling in fervent and oratorical tones the story of French glory and German atrocities. The English guide remarked, "That is the way France is teaching patriotism." An almost faceless French soldier, wearing many medals, was selling postal cards. France wishes to remember, not to forget. On through Campiègne, along the road to Soissons, the way was strewn with memorials and cemeteries—black crosses for the Germans, white crosses for the French and the Allied soldiers. English graves were differentiated by the presence of grass. We stopped at Hill 108—Berry-au-Bac, an awful mass of sun-burned white clay scarred with trench marks and shell holes, the grave of more than seventy thousand men. At the end of the torrid, hate-filled day we came to Rheims and rode to the cathedral with its ruined façade in front of which Joan of Arc again points her sword heavenward. And here, as at Soissons and at every ruined church, the guide declared, "See what the Germans did. The Huns delighted especially in wrecking cathedrals. There is no good German but a dead one." At my protesting "But didn't all the armies bombard churches where there were signal stations in the towers? Allied soldiers have told me that they did"—he did not answer. And an angry woman said, "Are you trying to defend the Germans?"

The memory of fighting Allied soldiers, whose unfailing reply to hate talk was "Oh, cut the damned stuff out! Let's clean up the job and get home; the Fritzies can't help it any more than we can"—rose again in my mind.

NEXT morning, with a huge wreath of flowers obtained by the hotel proprietor at early dawn from the flower market, we went to the Oise-Aisne American cemetery where the young widow's husband is buried. The soldier in charge was waiting there, and with the chauffeur and guide he escorted her to the grave while the rest of the party wandered about at will until it was time to leave. Afterward, in the long day's ride, we took turns sitting with her. The child was in the front seat, being petted by the chauffeur and the guide. The widow's soldier husband had not been killed in battle, although he was in the final fighting in the Meuse-Argonne sector. On the contrary. At a German prison camp near the embarking centers, one blustery, rainy day, he gave his overcoat to a miserable, thinly clad German prisoner. From the exposure he caught a cold, followed by pneumonia, and died.

"Then your husband really gave his life for love and pity of men who had been his enemies," I said. "Don't you see how wrong this *révanche* spirit is now? And the invasion of the Ruhr—how futile?" And I spoke of the League of Nations and the International Court—

"I don't know. I am too ignorant of it all. Germany just won't do right," she sobbed.

IT was the hottest part of a scorching July afternoon when we passed Belleau Wood and we were too exhausted to walk a mile or so in the blazing sun for a closer view of the rows and rows of white crosses. Both the widow and her child were sleeping the sleep of exhaustion; all the party were emotionally worn out. We decided not to stop.

Suddenly our way was blocked by an American army officer. We heard him say to our guide chauffeur—"Shut your damned mouth. I don't want any of your English impudence. And you, too, Frenchie, shut yours. These ladies are my people. I'll find out why your accursed car didn't stop at this place of American glory. I'll call up the American Express Company and see that both of you lose your jobs." In vain, we protested that the captain was not to blame, that we had already visited one American cemetery and that we had decided not to stop at Belleau Wood; our protests were unheeded. We left this over-zealous American cursing there.

Atrocity stories and hate propaganda had filled up the two days—to the end that the well-meaning American women were ready to color their home letters with this material, to tell the story later to their home clubs, and to plant seeds for the next war.



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*Homesick*

# Defenceless Victims of War

Interpreted by GIOVANNI CONSTANTINI

HIGH up, nearly hidden in the famous maze of studios nestling on the flanks of the Pincio, one may find a quiet, ascetic looking man in a severely bare studio: Giovanni Constantini, known in the world of art and letters by the impressive titles, Professore, Cavalliere, Accademico Della R. Accademia Di S. Lucca, etc.

Three years ago when Italy celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of Rome as its capital, the chief feature of the extended celebration was an immense exhibition of Italy's art production during those fifty years. At that time, Constantini's indifference to outer honors and the public exhibition of his paintings was overcome—after thirty years of resistence.

He was induced to spread out thirty-nine of the series of fifty-five paintings depicting the tragedy of war as a great memorial to the makers and the victims of the World War, paintings to grip the heart and impress the mind powerfully in condemnation of all war and to make poignant appeal for peace.

Not the conventional bloody battle scenes. Constantini painted heavy, big figures of men, mutely questioning women, children with staring eyes that look down from the canvases with animal dumbness—the defenceless victims of war.

"I was crushed," Constantini said. "I could not go on painting life when the great, great slaughtering began. Italy was not in it when it started, yet I was entirely crushed—that it could happen at all."

He drew out a half-finished canvas from a corner of the studio, a gay colorful scene of his beloved Campagna. "That's where I dropped work when the war broke out. I could not continue the ordinary routine. The light seemed to go out of life.—I couldn't get the war out of my mind, and as I could not sit idle, I painted these, one after the other, without any plan." Fifty-five large canvases, some of immense proportions, of which three are reproduced here.

Constantini's first exhibited picture was bought by the King of Italy—when the painter was twenty. And though at the time of the exhibition of the war paintings, three years ago, the Fascisti had already gone far on their terroristic way, the grand gold medal award was given to Constantini and one of the pictures was bought by the King; a second was acquired by a South American government. The artist wishes to keep the remainder of the collection intact, to speak as a whole to the world against war and for peace.

Rosika Schwimmer

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THE PLAN OF ATTACK

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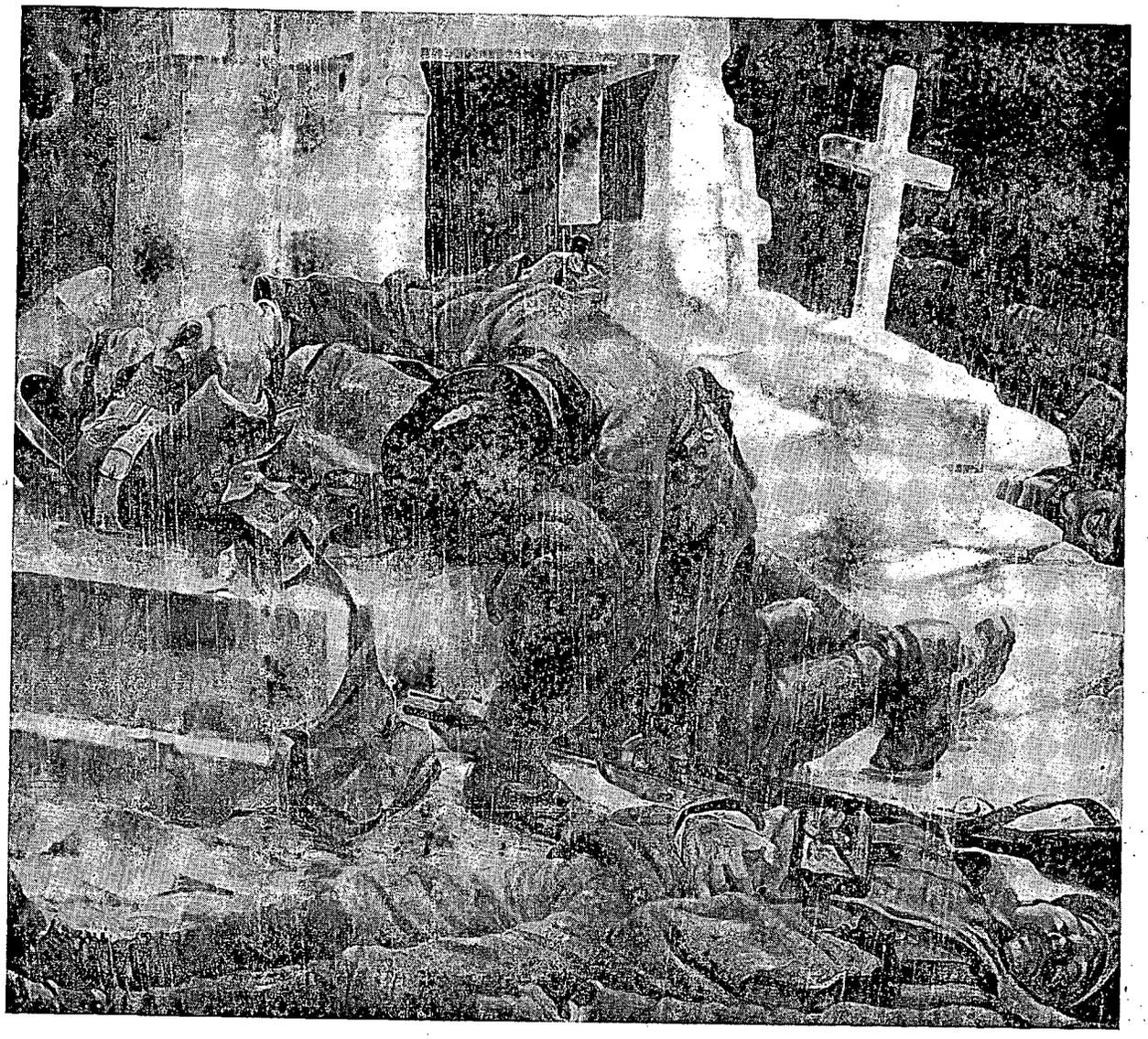

THE END OF THE FIGHT

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# Aftermath

By MARY ELIZABETH GROSS

TWO big eyes in a gray face. Miss Foster from her place at the desk watched the girl crossing the room with Miss Morland.

"Here's another who has reached her limit," was her mental comment.

Miss Foster, assistant in the Brussels office of the organization, had been "in the work" two years in Europe after two years at the home end. Miss Morland had suffered front line experience for four years in Europe. Neither could see a place to quit; neither could see when a breathing spell would come. Almost three years since the armistice and—endless work still to be done.

Miss Morland explained briefly, "Miss Stein is on her way home after seven years in Germany."

Miss Foster smiled up into the weary face, "Glad you're going home?"

"Glad? If I was to miss this boat, I'd die! I'm nearly crazy. I never want to hear anything but American—I'm wild to hear some slang. Why, I've talked English out loud to myself in my room lots of times just to hear it." She was almost hysterical.

"The firm had just sent me to Germany when the war broke out. I haven't any near folks and I had a two-year contract, so I stayed on. I saw the first German troops leave Mannheim and I saw the first French wounded brought in there. I'd go to the hospital to see them. I couldn't talk to them but I went. Many of those first French brought in wore patent leather shoes!"

Without pause the story rushed on: things got bad in the little town on the Rhine and the manager begged her to stay on because she could do any part of the office work, holding her first "on contract," then on loyalty, and then on actual necessity when marks lost their purchasing power. Cold, hunger, uncertainty, no word from home, her own country in the war, and wild stories of riot and revolution in the United States. Then came the choice of staying on under German management to turn out articles badly needed for the nourishment of the children, and incidentally saving the firm's business, or going home, penniless, out of work. They said her German marks would not be accepted.

She was hungry for news. At one time she had seen no American paper for nearly two years. Her friends seemed to have been the type that write a little family gossip and call it letters. Every obstacle was raised against her going home, fussing with passports, steamship reservation, and the manager's constant appeal for her to stay—even the Big Chief at home wrote, wanting her to remain.

"But I couldn't. I couldn't. I just had to get back.

"There was a Christmas dinner given by some Americans going through, and I could hardly eat anything. It choked me. So much rich food after what I've had, was awful. And after the hungry old women and children—it was horrible. No, not where the armies of occupation are—no—but back in—where the children crowd up to you and beg bread. Money is no good. They want something to eat. I always gave them any food cards I could."

The girl looked from one to the other of her auditors.

"Do you think when I get rested a bit and see my friends, I can come back with some relief work? I couldn't settle down to a fat job at home after what I know."

"Yes—yes—these things drive us all nearly wild," said Miss Foster, striving to make her voice flat.

"When I get home, I'm going to every church and club and school and tell what I've seen children and old women suffering," vowed the girl.

"They will tell you that the war is over long ago and wonder why you talk so much." Miss Morland merely stated a fact in a voice that held no feeling. "Last year I went home on business—important business—for the organization, and in my own headquarters I was asked why I was in uniform—the war was over."

LATER, when the girl had gone out to attend to some details about her papers, Miss Foster moved her blotter and stared down at it, automatically setting things straight.

"She has the 'look,' hasn't she? Do you remember that last evening in Paris when we had to talk to so many people? That Scotch nursing sister who had just returned from Serbia—and the nurse just back from the typhus in Poland with her calm recital of deliriums and unbelievable misery—and that relief worker from Albania who told us about the children living wild in caves in the mountains—and that English woman from the children's place in Bohemia—they all had it.

"The look of one who has seen things she could not relieve until it has eaten in—eaten in like a cancer."

Miss Foster sprang to her feet and paced the room.

"It isn't right for young women to look like that. They are all so sick at heart for the children—these endless children—Ten years ago women of their age were laughing and giddy flirts. I wish they could try a little of it now."

"Why don't you try it yourself?" smiled Miss Morland, rising. "I've got to feed my brood and see them safe for the night. And tomorrow night, being Saturday, I shall hie me to a hotel where I shall sleep eleven hours, breakfast in bed and sleep three more, dine and walk, sup and sleep until Monday dawns—and bathe and bathe and bathe."

"—How often do you do that?"

"Every second week when I am off duty. That is how I avoid the 'look.' What's your opiate?"

"Reading detective stories and boning Russian," admitted the other, "and Nell Flood takes in the cinemas like a child."

SOME hours later Miss Foster poked her head into the room where Miss Stein was already curled down in bed. Raising somber eyes the girl asked earnestly,

"Is every woman tired and filled with horror nowadays? Miss Morland was so sweet, but she is so weary looking, so sad, and you've teased me and laughed at me—but you have such a look in your eyes."



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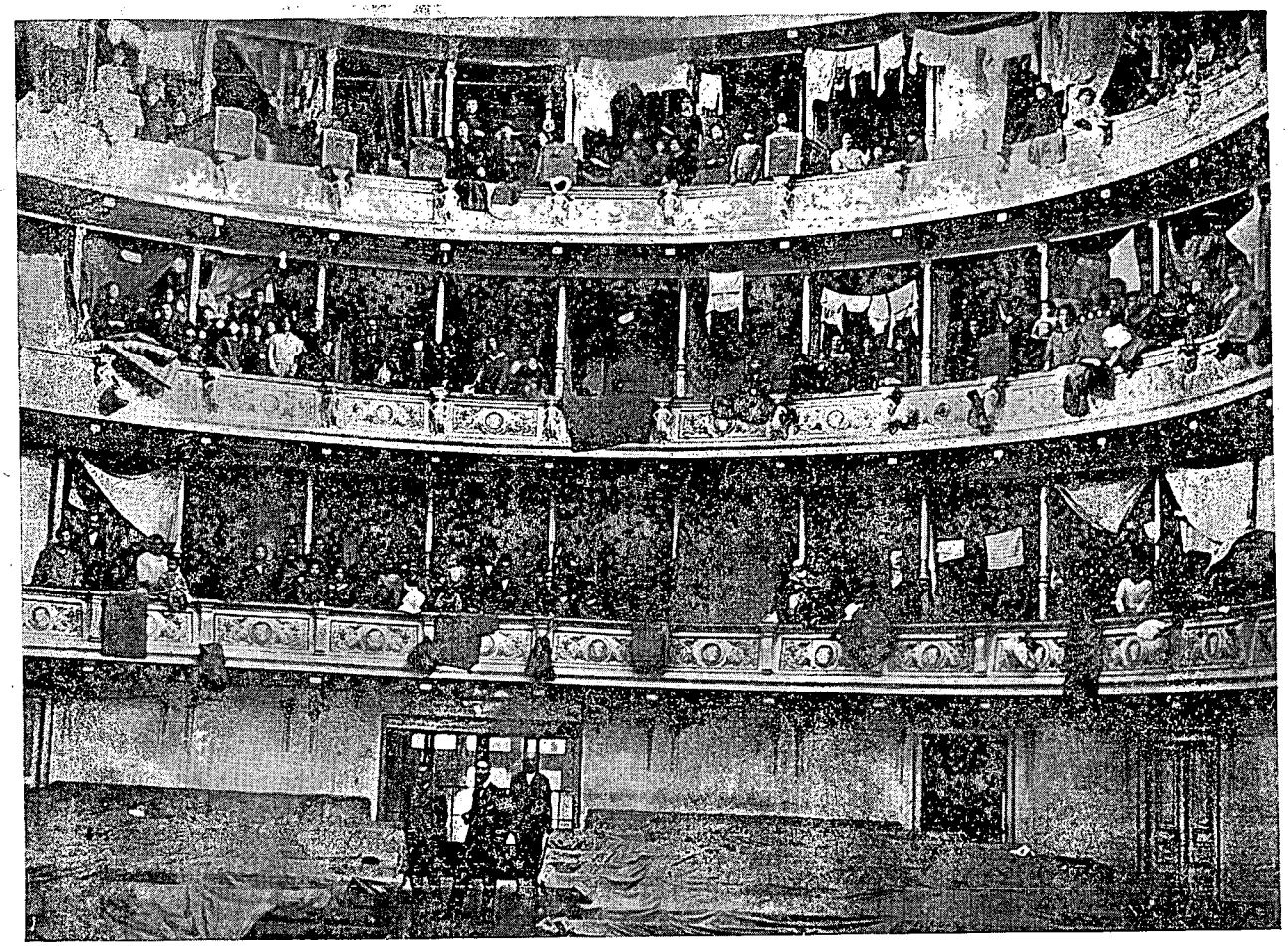

*Euripides conceived no make-believe tragedy so devastating as that played for the past two years in the Royal National Theatre of Athens*

# After Two Years

By EDITH VAN HOOK

THE Royal National Theatre of Athens was designed for a playhouse where the great Greek tragedies might be revived and modern drama and opera enacted. It was erected in the heyday of the monarchy, as a proof to the rest of the world that this ancient capital was not lagging behind other European centers of art. Its four tiers of boxes, rising nobly upon each other formed a golden horseshoe whose occupants represented the flower of wit and beauty and intelligence, not only of Athens, but of Smyrna, Alexandria and Constantinople, and its grand staircase, spacious foyers and promenade furnished a fitting background for the brilliant social life of a happy capital city.

But Euripides conceived no make-believe tragedy so devastating as that which is now being lived within its walls. It has become a home of sorrows, a shelter for an unwilling people, driven in by cruel necessity, and unable to leave its roof because of a worse fate outside. Since October, 1922, it has served as a haven for eighteen hundred refugees from Smyrna. A few of them have since moved on, some have found relatives, some have died, but twelve hundred of them have their dwelling there today. For, although it was intended as an emergency refuge only, in spite of every effort, it has been impossible to absorb these destitutes into the community or to establish them elsewhere.

When the doors were opened, no audience had ever been more eager to enter than this one. Mercilessly pursued by the Turkish Furies, barely rescued from a city in flames, and with difficulty transported across the sea, here was safety for them at last. They swarmed in with the few belongings they had saved tied up in bags and blankets, clothed only in filthy rags, weary, hungry, and ill, but grateful for any roof. The first arrivals were assigned to the boxes, considered the "choicest location in the house" in box-office parlance—not in this case for the sake of the good view of the stage, but because each cubicle at least had two walls, and the remains of a door. Eighty-four families with their goods and chattels now have become permanently established in the four tiers of boxes, making their homes in spaces no larger than dry-goods cases. The railings separating one from the other they have piled high with trunks and boxes in a pitiful but ineffectual attempt to obtain some privacy, as well as to use every available inch of space. Whatever articles cannot be stowed away in the interior



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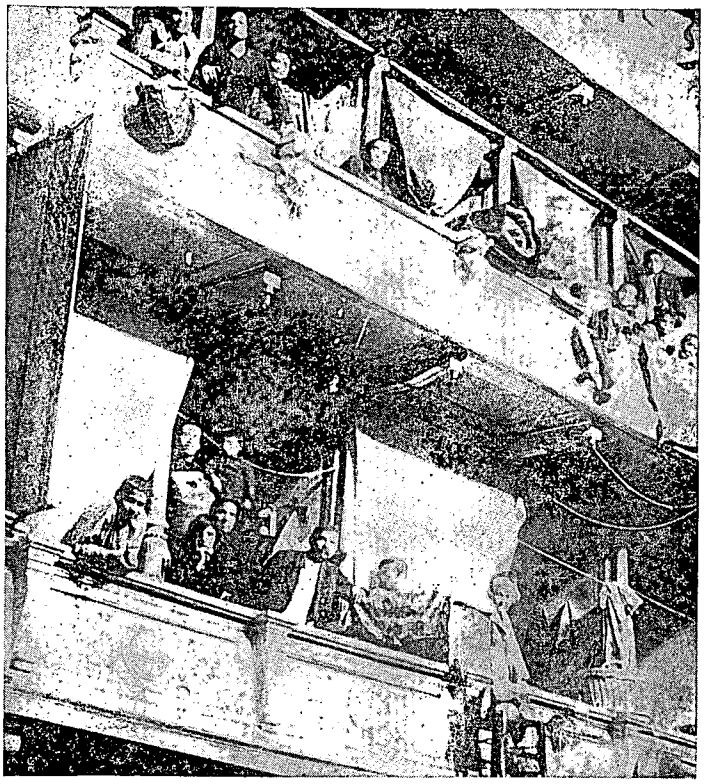
are suspended from the edge of the railing, so that the entire auditorium is festooned with a heterogeneous mass of chairs, clothes-baskets, wash-tubs, bags of clothing, empty bird-cages, and an endless variety of household objects. The floor of each box descends in two small steps toward the stage, the better, in former days, to display the Parisian gowns and military decorations of those who came to be seen as well as to see. Now, cooking utensils, pots, pans, dishes and supplies are harbored here, with the charcoal brazier and the rolled-up bedding close by. Curtains pieced together of old flour bags, burlap, and cast-off garments strung on a rope and tied to the columns shield each family but slightly from the pitiless publicity of their surroundings. At night, the few blankets are unrolled and the entire family, never less than five, and frequently more, sleep on the floor. Meals are served whenever there happens to be food on hand, with the result that some cooking is constantly going on. The air is blue with smoke, and the odors of garlic and coffee are mingled with others more pungent.

As I went up the great marble stair-case, I was met by streams of women, some descending with buckets of refuse, others carrying up their Standard Oil tins which they had filled with fresh water at the hydrant on the street below. Little boys clad in a single abbreviated garment were flying kites improvised from a scrap of newspaper and a piece of string over the balustrade. On each stair-landing families had taken up their permanent residence, using old blankets tied to the marble columns as a semblance for walls. The stair-case turning up to the left was kept free as a passage-way, but the one on the right was curtained off, and three families had settled here, allotting one step to each member for the purpose of sleeping. The household paraphernalia was stacked along the walls and railings, while the woman on the top step was sweeping the dirt from her four steps into the "home" of the one below, who in turn was passing it on with some more refuse, thus imposing upon the third one, subsequently, a three-fold amount of housecleaning. But she did not seem to mind the accumulation of orange and potato peels from her neighbors' domain, as she cooked her Turkish coffee on her little charcoal stove. She evidently had decided to ignore it, in as much as she was living three steps lower on the social scale, and no amount of scrubbing would help her rise to a higher status.

As I reached the grand tier, I stepped into the box formerly occupied by the king, and looked across at the stage. A solitary unprotected electric bulb suspended from the ceiling gave a ghostly light over the huge auditorium. The space for the musicians was vacant. A grey canvas covered the orchestra chairs in waving billows like an angry sea, and strewn along its edges were the flotsam and jetsam of the eighty-four households conducted above. An aged crone whose years of suffering were nearly over was sitting on a bag of clothing, staring blankly at the curtain which had never risen on tragedy more poignant than hers.

I was soon surrounded by at least thirty women and their children. They told me that I was the first foreigner who had ever come to see how they were living. When they heard that I was an American, their spokesman said, "Tell them in your country how we must live here. Greece can help us no more; America is our only hope." This I promised to do. Never shall I forget the infinite sadness in the eyes of one woman, aged beyond her years by the untold horrors of Smyrna, as she said simply, "Four sons had I in the army who were caught and killed by the Turks. This one is all I have left. He is a cripple, and will never work." Like the chorus in Trojan Women, who fleeing the burning Troy, their army defeated, their homes gone, the lament of these unfortunates rose, "Woe, woe, unto us." Their strident, confused voices, though not cadenced in Euripides' meter, conveyed as much misery. Again let their leader speak for them, "Two years nearly we have lived here, and yet no other homes can be found for us. Never do we see the sunlight, we do not know if it rains or shines. Our eyes are weak from the darkness, and we can no longer see to work. Our children are sick, the doctor comes, but we have no money for medicine. Our old people must lie on the floor until they die."



*Whatever articles cannot be stowed away in the interior are suspended from the edge of the railing*

The players have stepped across the footlights, but the action continues on the other side with far greater intensity because of its stark reality.

Here was a Carmen in the flesh. She stood before her tiny mirror propped up on her trunk arranging a tall comb in her black curly hair, humming a gay tune, while trying to hold a flower between her teeth. Next she opened a box and took out a shawl which she adjusted with admiring pats and gestures before she sallied forth on her high heels to her work in the cigarette factory near by. She is the sole support of her parents and three younger children, but her love of finery will not be denied. Her toreador is a butcher who flays tender lambs, and has no arena to display his bravery, while her Don José is a young soldier recently returned from Asia Minor.

A MOTHERLY-LOOKING woman with a deeply furrowed face was drying the coffee cups and arranging the few dishes in a rudely constructed rack on the dark wall of her enclosure. Judging from the care and neatness with which she was arranging (*Continued on page* 516)

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# Where Goes India?

## Gandhi the prophet and Das the politician at the parting of the ways

By S. K. RATCLIFFE

IT was plain to everyone who is in the habit of following the course of affairs in India that the liberation of Gandhi by the MacDonald Government would be the beginning of a new chapter in the Swaraj movement. I do not know the inside reasons that decided MacDonald and the Viceroy to order the Mahatma's release; but I suspect that among them was a conviction that during the two years of his imprisonment non-cooperation had passed decisively beyond the stage of 1922, and that Gandhi, on returning to the field, would find that his position needed readjustment to a greatly changed situation. If this was the official reading, it has been to no small extent justified by the event.

Gandhi in the winter of 1922 stood at the apex of his power. It is true that the non-cooperation crusade had reached a point of extreme difficulty: so much so, indeed, that Romain Rolland, the Mahatma's illustrious European champion, suggests that he may have welcomed arrest as a needed relief. But he still held his great following among the educated classes, while in the esteem of the Indian multitude he occupied a position to which the history of popular leadership offers literally no parallel in any country or age.

The two years of his withdrawal from the conflict made a crucial interlude in Indian nationalism. The Gandhi program, for all its astonishing success, had not gone very far in the positive sense. The culmination of the non-cooperation scheme was to be "civil disobedience" carried out on the national scale. Gandhi had instituted a notable experiment of civil disobedience in his own district, Bardoli; but, in opposition to the more extreme missioners of non-cooperation, he had always held back from annunciation of the full program. He was not persuaded that the Indian people were ready. He had, very reluctantly, been convinced that mass civil disobedience could not yet be attempted without violence and disorder. It is no derogation from Gandhi's greatness of spirit to say that at the moment when the Government struck he was not able to see a clear light on his path.

During the early months of his imprisonment a special commission of the Indian National Congress toured India for the purpose of exploring the temper of the people and their local leaders in respect of the two crucial matters: (1) the prospects of mass civil disobedience, and (2) the continuance of the Gandhi program of complete abstention from political activity and from the legislative councils. Upon the first point the commission made a unanimous report: mass civil disobedience could not be declared because there was no national solidarity of opinion. On the second question the commission was equally divided, three being for the return to politics and three for the maintenance of the Gandhi form of non-cooperation. Following this report the leaders of the political non-cooperators—C. R. Das of Calcutta and Motilal Nehru of Allahabad—set to work to convert the national congress to a political program. It was not an easy task, the great majority of the congress delegates being devoted adherents of Gandhi; but before the elections of 1923 they succeeded—to the extent, at all events, of getting the national congress to remove the ban upon political action. An effort was made to induce Gandhi to sanction the departure, but he was wise enough to send from prison a message that could not be quoted as an indication that he had in any way altered his own stand.

There followed the remarkable election campaign of last fall. The Indian Liberals, or constitutionalists—among whom the gifted statesman and orator, Srinivasa Sastri, who succeeded the late G. K. Gokhale as head of Servants of India Society, was prominent—were hopelessly left. The new Swaraj party gained striking victories in almost every province. In the Bengal Council, Das, effecting an alliance between the Swarajists and other Indian parties, attained a commanding position. In the All-India legislature the Swarajists and Independents found themselves strong enough to initiate a program of obstruction, which created a serious deadlock in legislation and threw upon the Viceroy and his government the necessity of employing the coercive power of the executive for the passage of the budget and other urgent measures.

THIS was the situation when, in February of this year, Gandhi was set at liberty. He was in very weak health; it was natural that he should go for a time into retreat, and as a consequence it was not until May that the public was made aware of the vitally important discussion that was going forward between the Mahatma and the leaders of the Swaraj party.

Gandhi had, for various good reasons, delayed the publication of his promised statement of policy, and Das, realizing its necessarily crucial character, traveled across from Calcutta to Bombay in order to secure, if possible, a joint manifesto. The conferences between the leaders lasted several days. For my part I cannot understand how they could have ended in any form of agreement, since Gandhi is immovable on his central anti-political principle. The result was the issue of separate manifestoes, carefully framed so as to avoid the suggestion of a dispute, but indicating in the clearest fashion the wide and deep difference of spirit and method between Das the politician and Gandhi the apostle of an idea and the believer in soul force alone.

Before the Bombay meeting a rumor was spread abroad to the effect that Gandhi had changed his attitude in regard to membership of the councils; that he was prepared to advise his followers to enter the political field, provided that Das and Nehru abandoned the policy of simple obstruc-



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tion and agreed to work for Swaraj within the assemblies by following a line of constructive action. I have not been able to see the force or sense of such statements as these. It is true that Gandhi has no sympathy with active obstruction. He holds that it is not non-violence. He points out that it cannot be called non-cooperation. Das, on the other hand, is wedded to political nationalism, and he went to the Bombay conference with concrete results to exhibit. Nothing could well be more certain than that the conversion of either leader by the other was impossible.

BOTH held back their decisions until it became clear that joint action was impossible. Then they released their manifestoes. Gandhi was, as usual, quite candid. He began by saying that he was unable to see eye-to-eye with the Swarajists in regard to entering the councils and that the difference between him and them was fundamental. He conceded that resolutions passed at two meetings of the national congress permitted "those who have no conscientious scruples to enter the councils and assembly if inclined," and he added a remarkable confession which once again displayed his directness and simplicity. "If the work of the Swarajists progresses," said he, "and the councils benefit, each ocular demonstration cannot but convince honest sceptics like me of error." He had previously admitted that the Swarajist methods in the councils were successful to an extent that had surprised him. And he concluded: "I will therefore be no party to putting obstacles in the way of the Swarajists' entry into the legislature, though I cannot actively help them in a project in which I do not believe."

He then, in a manner highly characteristic of him, proceeded to set forth what in his view would be a program of action within the central and provincial legislatures which would be consistent with the principles of non-cooperation. It is a fourfold program:

(1) To make all purchases of cloth, for government use, of *khaddar*,—that is hand-spun and hand-woven stuff;
(2) To impose a prohibitive duty on foreign cloth;
(3) To abolish the revenue from drink and drugs;
(4) To reduce the army expenditure.

The Swaraj party, Gandhi says, should first move resolutions in favor of these provisions. If they should be carried and the Government refuse to act upon them, the Swaraj party should then invite the Government to appeal to the electorate on the four points; and, that request being refused, all Swarajist members should resign their seats and prepare the country for civil disobedience.

IN opposition to this, the Das program reasserts the necessity of complete obstruction in the legislative bodies. Its four points are as follows:

1. To throw out any budget until the system of government is altered in recognition of Indian rights;
2. To throw out all proposals for defining or consolidating the power of the executive;
3. To introduce bills and resolutions for the displacement of the bureaucracy;
4. To initiate an economic policy designed to prevent the draining of Indian wealth to Europe.

The differences between these two sets of proposals are plain enough for all to see. It is not surprising that Gandhi should describe them as fundamental. The Indian press, however, would seem to have found a bridge between them in the declarations of the two leaders on the pivotal question of mass civil disobedience. Gandhi says in effect to the Swarajists, "Go for it if and when you find that the Government will not accept your positive proposals." Messrs. Das and Nehru say they can assure Gandhi that the moment they are convinced that "an obstinate bureaucracy" will not yield to pressure from within, they will come out of the councils and work for civil disobedience through the national congress serving under Gandhi's banner. They, more obviously politic than the idealist leader, feel certain of "a fundamental unity among the parties of the Indian National Congress," and they believe that the joint efforts of those parties "will furnish a fitting answer to a bureaucracy unwilling to recognize the rights and liberties of the Indian people."

The apparent agreement of the two leaders upon this matter has led the Anglo-Indian newspapers to see a sinister agreement between the two sides beneath the differences of method. They have a vision of idealist and politician united, after a confused interval, upon a national scheme of civil disobedience. But this, in view of events of the past three years, seems to me far-fetched. The political non-cooperators have never believed in mass civil disobedience, while Gandhi has, in every crisis, decided against it. And, since he deliberately set it aside at the moment when, by common consent, (*Continued on page* 522)

## *The Social Gospel of the Man*

*"IN the esteem of the Indian multitude, Gandhi," as Ratcliffe phrases it, "occupies a position to which the history of popular leadership offers literally no parallel in any country or age." Any one who would understand the social forces at work in the world of today, must try to gage and understand this new leader of the humble of the East. But his leadership is not merely emotional or political; it has a broad social content. And to grasp as time goes on the deep human import of Gandhi's policies with respect to non-cooperation and home production, of the bearing of these things on workers and consumers no less than on foreign commerce and British rule; and with respect to habits, to racial unity and the reform of the most deep-seated evil of the caste system—it is necessary first to follow the swift political development of the last two years. These policies Mr. Ratcliffe interprets—against the background of his earlier residence in India, against the foreground of his discussion of them with various informed groups concerned in London.*

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# American Rotten Boroughs

By ORVILLE A. WELSH

OUTBREAK of open warfare in the Rhode Island Legislature should direct public attention generally to American "rotten boroughs."

Partisan legislative wrangles do not usually make the first pages of newspapers throughout the country. But when a gas bomb was found in the Rhode Island Senate chamber, and four Senators were taken to the hospital from gas poisoning, and the entire Republican membership of the Senate fled across the State line "in fear of their lives," as they claimed, the rest of the nation began to visualize an unusual situation.

Yet the Rhode Island situation is not unusual in America—it is merely accentuated.

It must be recalled that at the time of the American Revolution there was no such thing as manhood suffrage, and indeed the aim was to remove government from the mass as far as possible. Only a very small percentage of the people had any voting voice in local government. Representation was fixed arbitrarily by the state constitutions then adopted, without allowance for the subsequent growth of the towns. The Rhode Island charter gave Newport not to exceed six members of the Colonial Assembly; Providence, Portsmouth and Warwick not to exceed four, and other places not to exceed two.

In Massachusetts each town or place was given two representatives regardless of population. The county was the unit in the middle colonies, the parish in South Carolina. In only one-third of the early American states was the population taken as a basis for legislative apportionment. Alabama gave each county one member of the House, Florida one to three members. These states did not enter the Union until 1819 and 1845, respectively.

Rhode Island is the smallest and most densely settled state in the union. With 604,397 inhabitants, it is thirty-eighth in population, ahead of giants in area as Arizona, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Utah and Wyoming.

It is almost exclusively urban, 97.5 per cent, and in fact contains but 4,083 farms. The few farming communities, however, virtually control the state.

Under the constitution of 1842, still in force, each city and town is entitled to one member of the Senate and one only. Thus the great industrial cities—Providence, with nearly 250,000 population; Pawtucket, 64,248; Woonsocket, 43,496—are forever outvoted by men from tiny fishing villages and rural hamlets, such as West Greenwich, with 367 souls; Foster, with 905; Charlestown, with 759; and Narragansett, with 993. These all return Republican Senators.

There are thirty-nine cities and towns in Rhode Island, and in 1922 the Republicans elected twenty-one senators and the Democrats eighteen. That year William S. Flynn, Democratic candidate for governor, swept the state on a platform of political and social reform, and got an even break in the Assembly, which is elected on a basis of population. The major planks in the Democratic platform were:

1—A forty-eight hour work law for women and children.
2—A constitutional convention to remove the inequalities of senatorial apportionment.
3—Abolition of the property qualification for voters.
4—Restoration to the governor of authority to appoint State officials.
5—Change in the method of electing sheriffs in order to effect some executive authority.

The following year the Assembly passed the forty-eight hour law and a resolution for a constitutional convention. The Republican majority in the Senate refused to allow a vote on either proposition. Senate Democrats engineered an eighty-day filibuster without avail.

Before telling the legislative story of this year, it might be well to explain the last three planks in the Democratic platform. The demand for abolition of the property qualification for voters has always been a Democratic standby in Rhode Island, where the industrial workers in the main have followed the Democratic standard. Originally the state gave the franchise only to those

## *From Farm to City—1,400,000 a Year*

*THE immense turnover of the United States in the last few years from a predominantly rural country to one considerably more than half urban, with the tremendous growth of our large cities, has created a new set of American problems of which one of the most serious is the growing cleavage between town and country. And in the industrial states, as the accompanying article tells, political power still is retained by the rural minority, very largely to the detriment of the cities. This turnover was something like 14,000,000 persons in the decade ended with the 1920 census, an average of 1,400,000 a year.*

*In the thirty years from 1890 to 1920 the urban population (those living in towns of 2,500 or more) increased from 22,298,359 to 54,304,803, or about two and one-half times. In the same period the rural population increased from 40,649,355 to 51,406,017, or about 25 per cent.*

*However, of the rural element the increase was mainly in the small towns, incorporated places of less than 2,500, wherein the population doubled, from 4,757,974 to 8,969,241. In 1920 there were 12,905 such towns, as against 2,787 cities over 2,500. Thus the population living in unincorporated places increased only about 20 per cent in thirty years.*



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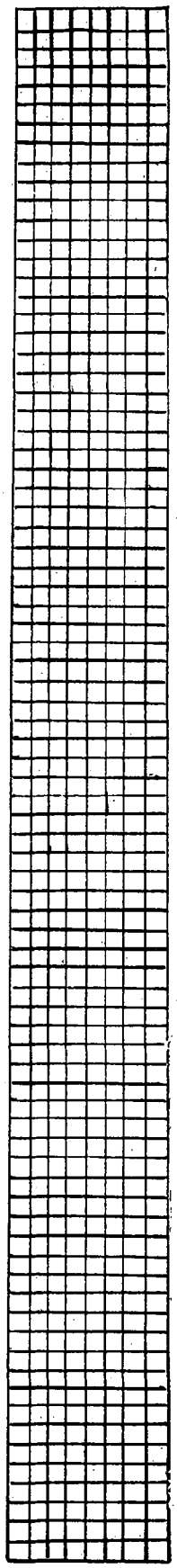

PROVIDENCE WEST GREENWICH

*Providence, a Rhode Island city with a population of 237,595 has the same representation in the state senate as West Greenwich, the smallest town in the state, which has a population of 367. Although Providence is practically 648 times as large, because it is politically Democratic in complexion, it cannot depend on sympathy or support from the Republican majority furnished from the small towns*

men who paid taxes on at least $137 worth of property. As the movement for universal suffrage grew, this restriction was lifted as affecting state officers and mayors of cities. It still applies to election of city councils. As a result the big cities have Democratic mayors and Republican councils, which are always deadlocked.

The fourth Democratic plank—empowering the governor to appoint certain state officials as in other commonwealths—aims at one of the worst phases of the rotten borough government. A law provides that unless a nomination sent by the governor to the Senate is confirmed within seventy-two hours the Senate itself becomes the appointing power and may elect state officials. This statute was the work of "Charlie" Brayton, the blind boss of the state Republican machine, twenty years ago just before the election of a Democratic governor.

Regarding the fifth plank, sheriffs of Rhode Island counties are elected in secret ballot by the two houses of the Legislature sitting in grand committee, and therefore are entirely irresponsible to local constituencies or to the state administration.

The demand for a constitutional convention is directed not only at the rotten borough Senate majority but also at the method it has taken to perpetuate itself. The state has been growing more and more Democratic in recent years, but a Democratic majority in the Senate is further and further away. Whenever the Republican organization sees its grip in danger it creates new towns, thus making more votes in the Senate. For instance when the town of Warwick became debatable territory it was divided, the Democratic sections being put in the town of West Warwick. So the status quo was maintained. The same thing was done in Woonsocket.

As Governor Flynn points out, the eighteen Democrats, with 46 per cent of the vote in the Senate, represent 76 per cent of the population, and under the present system it might be possible for 9 per cent of the population to elect twenty Senators, or a majority.

Again this year the evenly-divided Assembly passed the resolution for a constitutional convention and the Lavender forty-eight hour bill, imposing a penalty of $20 for each violation (a mill owner with 100 women employes working over that time would be subject to a fine of $2,000). These measures were sent to the Senate.

Taking a leaf from the lesson of the previous year when the governor, by vetoing the appropriation bill, forced the Republican Senate majority to agree to several specific reforms, including a bill giving the governor power to veto any item by itself in an appropriation bill, the Senate Democrats resumed their fillibuster, in behalf of the Quinn resolution for a constitutional convention. This fillibuster, with the connivance of the Lieutenant Governor, Felix A. Toupin, a Democrat, continued into May. All state institutions were forced to suspend payment of employes for lack of funds. The wheels of the state's governmental machinery were completely blocked.

Then things began to happen. On the afternoon of May 9 the Senate was in session, with the usual persiflage and extraneous talk of a fillibuster. Republicans seeking to move an adjournment were ignored by the Lieutenant Governor.

Toward 6 o'clock Lieutenant Governor Toupin electrified the Republicans by declaring the Senate "at ease" until the High Sheriff and doorkeeper returned to the chamber. Some of the Senators had never heard the expression, and they questioned the action.

Senator Arthur A. Sherman, Republican leader, who was elected president pro tem at the beginning of the 1923 session (although the Democrats attacked the legality of the proceeding), went to the rostrum and protested that the Lieutenant Governor was exceeding his authority. A clash of words ensued. Then Senator Sherman declared he would assume the chair himself. He stood on the floor and entertained a motion to adjourn, while Toupin was pounding his gavel and calling on a deputy cheriff to eject Sherman from the chamber. Sherman declared the motion to adjourn had carried, and the Republicans left the chamber in a body.

The Democrats conferred and decided that their opportunity had come. They immediately chose temporary clerks, came to order, and sat in session until 4 o'clock in the morning. They passed the forty-eight hour bill, a new resolution for a constitutional convention and a temporary appropriation bill. The forty-eight hour bill reached the governor at midnight, and he signed it at 3 a. m. The other two measures were sent to the Assembly the following Tuesday, but the Republican speaker refused to recognize the messenger and the documents were "lost." By that time the Republicans had rallied and announced that they would contest in the courts the forty-eight hour bill and the governor's appointments which the Democratic rump Senate had confirmed. The governor on his part announced that the forty-eight hour law would be enforced beginning June 1.

A peculiar feature of the situation is that any member of the state Supreme Court may be turned out of office over night by the mere passing of a majority resolution by the Republican Legislature. The court is composed of five Republican judges.

By this time great pressure was being brought to bear on the Democrats to permit action on appropriations. Money had been loaned by private individuals and banks without security to state wage-earning employes who had been unpaid since March 1. A committee of the Rhode Island State Bankers' Association called on Governor Flynn. He placed

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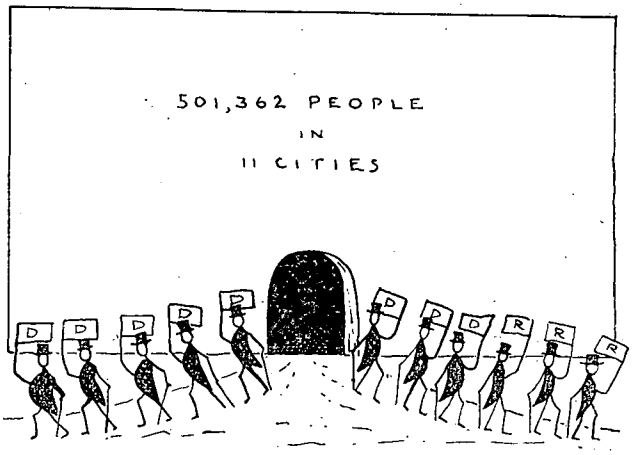
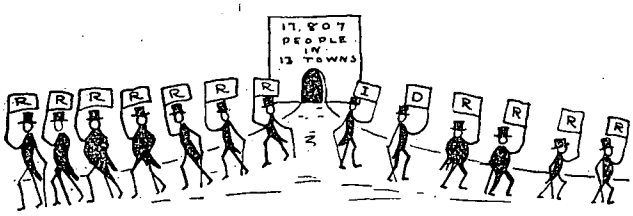



*Eleven Rhode Island cities, all having populations over 10,000 (total population, 501,362) having only one senator for each city, send 8 Democrats and 3 Republicans*




*While thirteen Rhode Island towns, all having populations under 3,000, (total population, 17,807) each represented by one state senator, send a controlling majority of 11 Republicans, 1 Democrat, and 1 Independent, to the state senate*

the blame on the Republicans, and refused to interfere. The State Sanitarium and the State College were threatened with suspension.

Public feeling grew heated. The newspapers issued special editions, and crowds stood in front of the bulletin boards. The Senate gallery and entrances were jammed, as the filibuster continued.

On June 17, there was a general riot in the Senate chamber. Two hundred spectators, including many women, joined in it. The riot was precipitated by Senator Sherman's attempt to open the session in the absence of the Lieutenant Governor. Twenty policemen with guns answered a riot call, but the governor, hastening to the Capitol, had intervened with the aid of sheriff's deputies. Thereafter the filibuster was continuous for forty-two hours, with several fist fights and other evidences of party passion. Each side accused the other of importing gunmen and thugs to the galleries. Each side had its own set of barbers in the chamber.

On the morning of June 19, an unbearable odor became noticeable near the rostrum. The Lieutenant Governor at that time had not closed his eyes in sleep for nearly three days. He ordered the senators out of the chamber and an investigation by the janitors. A newspaper soaked with a bromine gas mixture was found behind draperies. Of the four affected senators, three were Republicans.

The governor undertook to effect a compromise, but a tentative one reached in his office was repudiated by the Republicans, who thereafter refused to return to the Senate unless given "guarantees" and even went in a body to Rutland, Mass., where they kept their hotel guarded.

With this "deplorable situation," the Providence Chamber of Commerce called a meeting, June 21, of thirty civic and business organizations of the State. A committee was appointed to confer with both parties. "The state's good name is menaced," said President T. F. I. McDonnel of the Chamber, "and there is danger of bodily harm to persons and of the destruction of property."

The early settlers—the real old "Yankee stock"—which the Republican rotten boroughs represent, are determined to retain their control of the state. They sneer at the "foreign" and "radical" element that comprises the Democratic strength in the cities. The Democrats counter with talk of the Republican Ku Klux Klan. And there, at the time of writing, the matter stands.

So much for Rhode Island. What is the situation in other industrial states?

THIRTY years' agitation has failed to end rotten boroughs in Connecticut. In 1902, George S. McLean, Republican candidate for governor, was elected on a platform that called for a constitutional convention to end inequitable apportionment. The convention met, and redistricted the senatorial districts to give the more populous sections more representation, but left unchanged the provision that each town should have two representatives in the Assembly. So the town of Union, with 257 persons, still has equal voice in the lower house of the Legislature with the cities of Hartford, Waterbury, New Haven and Bridgeport, the population of which runs between 100,000 and 160,000.

The most spectacular effect of this system recently has been the passage of a strong anti-daylight-saving law to which the cities strenuously but vainly objected. However, much more important measures, relating to education, have gone to defeat at the hands of the rural majority.

The small town appropriation committee of the House holds absolute power over legislation, according to Senator Charles M. Bakewell, professor of philosophy at Yale. At the last session three of the most important educational measures were killed because the farmers who dominated the committee couldn't see the need of them for the more congested districts. These bills provided for a special appropriation to give attention to backward school children in the cities and to Americanize adult foreigners through education in night schools.

But that the country districts have not everything their own way, was indicated by the charge of Representative Harry Morgan Ayres, professor of English in Columbia University (who was elected as a Democrat from the Republican town of Westport), that machine politicians, in order to prevent a favorable vote by the Legislature on the World Court, threatened the farmers with calling their mortgages.

In 1920 the urban population of Connecticut was 936,330; rural, 444,292.

IN New York, no county under the State Constitution was permitted to have more than one-third of the

RURAL VS. URBAN COUNTIES

*New Jersey allows one senator and one only from each county, regardless of the fact that each urban senator represents an average of 285,362 voters, and the senator from a rural county represents an average of only 48,914 vo*

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members of the State Senate, and no two counties adjoining, or separated only by public waters, more than one-half. This obviously was aimed at New York City, and the restriction never has been removed. Each county was given one member of the Assembly, regardless of population, and this provision has enabled rural up-State New York, which happens to be Republican and conservative, to maintain its grip on the lower chamber of the Legislature to this day.

The effect of this has been particularly noticeable in the two administrations of Governor Alfred E. Smith, whose ambitious program of political reforms and social welfare was slaughtered in successive sessions by the rural-dominated Assembly led by Speaker H. Edmund Machold of Watertown. This included: A minimum wage law for women and minors; forty-four hour work week; state ownership, control and development of hydro-electric power; a state fund monopoly in the writing of workmen's compensation insurance to save the insured the cost of private administration; restoration of direct primaries; reorganization of state departments, executive budget, and the four-year term for governor; legislation to put teeth in the corrupt practices act, to compel the publication of political contributions before election; laws to improve the rural school system and bring it as nearly as possible on a par with the city educational facilities.

During the Republican administration of Governor Nathan L. Miller, which was between the two Smith régimes, the majority under rural domination emasculated the state primary law; imposed a movie censorship; passed the Lusk loyalty bills affecting teachers (repealed by the next Legislature); passed a state prohibition enforcement law (repealed by the next Legislature); took from the cities control over public service corporations within their boundaries; enacted water power bills for private interest; handicapped the administration of the workmen's compensation act and the state labor code; reduced the budget for the state Labor Commission. The Republican Assembly also threw out four Socialist members solely because they were Socialists.

In Vermont each town was allowed one member of the House and one only. Thus, in 1910, ten towns with a population of 1,231 (3.6 per cent of the total) were equal in voting strength to ten towns with a population of 93,936 (27.3 per cent).

In New Jersey, with a population predominantly urban (in 1920 2,474,936 persons were classed as urban dwellers, 680,964 as rural), the legislative policies are determined largely by the rural element. All efforts to amend the state constitution, which provides one senator and one only for each of the twenty-one counties, have been defeated by the smaller counties. Herein lies the key to the retention of the state's bluest of the blue laws, the enforcement of which is attempted now and then. About 40 per cent of the population of New Jersey lives in Essex and Hudson Counties, which together have two of the state's twenty-one senators, or less than 10 per cent. Essex, with 652,089, has the same vote in the Senate as Cape May County with 19,460. Hudson, with 629,154, is balanced by Sussex with 24,905. Taking the counties of more than 100,000, nine out of the twenty-one have a total population of 2,668,923, or 84.5 per cent of the state's total.

In Delaware, Wilmington, the only large city, has almost exactly 50 per cent of the voting population. Yet it has only 13.5 per cent of the representation in the General Assembly. Of the thirty-five members of the House, Wilmington gets only five. Of seventeen State Senators, Wilmington gets but two. In the party conventions also the city is grossly misrepresented.

At the last legislative session an attempt was made to increase Wilmington's representation in the House from five to ten and in the Senate from two to five. The bill was overwhelmingly defeated. Two successive Legislatures have defeated measures designed to give home rule to Wilmington through a new city charter providing for the city manager form of government. Another bill relating to public utilities control, greatly desired by the city, was beaten. The 1922 Legislature forbade daylight saving which was being practiced by Wilmington.

In Maryland, a little more than half the population is in the big city. Baltimore has 733,826, against 715,784 in the counties. The total urban population including Baltimore is 869,422. Baltimore has a voting representation of 28.57 per cent on joint ballot in the Legislature—thirty-six of the 118 members of the House of Delegates and six of the twenty-nine State Senators. The effect of this rural control has been particularly controversial in the levying and distribution of taxes. The city pays the larger portion of both direct and indirect taxes, but receives only two-fifths of the road fund and about the same proportion of the school fund. The city is wet and the rest of the state dry: The Eighteenth Amendment was ratified, but all state enforcement bills have been defeated.

Pennsylvania is 70 per cent urban, yet largely under rural sway. Each of the sixty-seven counties is guaranteed one member regardless of population. The five smallest counties, with an average population of only 7,944, and totaling .45 of 1 per cent of the State's population, cast 2.4 per cent of the vote in the House of Representatives. Twenty-eight counties with 8.7 per cent of the population have 13.5 per cent of strength in the House. Twenty-three counties with more than 100,000 population and totaling more than 78 per cent of the State have but 72 per cent voting strength. In 1923 the rural members of the legislature forced through a bill prohibiting daylight saving time.

Ohio, which is 63.8 per cent urban, suffers severely from rural domination. Each county has at least one member of the House, regardless of population. A strong rural bloc has long been operative at Columbus. The most serious effect of rural control on the cities has been in regard to taxation. The farmers are strong for low tax rates. All attempts to strike out the constitutional provision for a uniform tax rate for all property everywhere have failed. In consequence all the large cities are running chronically short of funds. They must skimp on the schools, hospitals, etc., suspend many municipal functions, and as far as possible anticipate revenues from future taxes.

Facing bankruptcy, Mayor Brough in Toledo in May ordered suspension of many city departments, including the Municipal Hospital and the Forestry Department. Workhouse prisoners were substituted for park employes. Police and firemen went unpaid. So did the members of the staff of Toledo University. A general cut in wages of all city workers was ordered. In desperate straits for lack of revenue, the city passed an occupational tax measure which it was estimated would bring in $500,000. May 20 was the time limit for payment, and only $125,000 was collected. All

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*The map shows the fear of New York State Constitution makers of the possibility of urban control. New York and Kings, the two populous counties of New York City (corresponding to Manhattan and Brooklyn Boroughs), are barred from having more than one-half the membership of the Senate. Also each county in the State, with the exception of Hamilton, has at least one member of the Assembly regardless of population. The effect of the inequitable legislative apportionments is to keep the up-State minority, which happens to be Republican and Conservative, in the saddle at Albany. The population of New York City is 5,620,048; that of the rest of the State, iucluding several large cities, such as Buffallo, Rochester, Syracuse, Binghampton and Albany, 4,765,179. Yet New York City has only 22 State Senators (all Democratic) against 29 for the rest of the State (25 Republicans and 4 Democrats). The metropolis has 62 Assemblymen (55 Democrats and 7 Republicans), while up-State gets 88 (80 Republicans and 8 Democrats)*

the big railroads entering Toledo, as well as many manufacturers, filed suits against payment of this tax.

Youngstown has been in a similar fix. Two or three years ago the Police and Fire Departments had virtually to be disbanded, and private citizens came to the city's aid. Yet the rural vote in Ohio will not permit tax classification relief.

Although Ohio cities have a large measure of home rule, they are hamstrung financially and can't make much use of it. They may buy street car lines and operate them—but they cannot bond the municipality to get the purchase money. So there is but one municipally-owned street railway in the state.

The State Board of Health, in the face of a sanitary emergency, may order improvements and local authorities must comply and get the necessary funds some way. They mostly do it by assessments.

Cleveland, largest city of Ohio and fifth in the country, has been especially hard hit by the tax situation. Since Jan. 1, Cleveland has been the largest municipality in the United States with the City Manager form of government; its progressiveness in civic affairs dates back to Tom L. Johnson's time and before, but the civic reformers have repeatedly found their hands tied. With the necessity for bond issues for practically all improvements, there has been no start toward rapid transit since the street-car epoch and the county-city building program has been completely blocked.

In Michigan, seventh state in population, the industrial population also is kept in rural-forged shackles, in this case through operation of a so-called "moiety clause" in the State Constitution respecting legislative apportionment. This provides that when any county has a moiety or more than half of the ratio of population for one State Representative it shall be given the Representative. There are now thirty-one of these moiety districts out of a total of 100, and although the constitution makes mandatory a reapportionment of both House and Senate districts (*Continued on page* 518)

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# EDITORIALS

IN this heyday of amusement-from-the-air we have become sensitive to those obstacles to radiation which may interfere with an evening's distraction. But we forget that tiny segment of the electro-magnetic rays on which our lives depend—most of all the ultraphotic rays from which we gain protection from one of the commonest of the preventable diseases: the deforming rickets, which brings to childhood so many added risks of pneumonia and to motherhood extra dangers in childbearing.

Now come the students of the National Institute of Medical Research in London, proving that most of these priceless intangible emanations are derived from the sky, and but little from the direct rays of the sun. In the hours of a low-lying sun the sky itself is our source of strength and safety for health. But the dirtiness of city air scatters these furtive rays. Our wells of inhumanity—cramped courts and canyon streets—not only steal the sun from their neighbors but blot out the very "sky-line" itself and blanch the cheeks of children.

We have come too slowly to the proof that dirty dark ais is a hazard to health none the less than soiled water. We should do well, if it were possible, to level our buildings to the height of the trees, and broaden our streets till we gave some semblance of an horizon for everyone. Failing that, we need sky-engineers who will be as jealous of the translucency of the atmosphere, as are the sanitarians of the water we drink.

A SMALL group of lay church workers are assembling at Auburn, New York, for a summer school of religious drama, held there this year for the first time under the auspices of the committee of religious drama of the Federal Council of Churches and in affiliation with the Auburn School of Religious Education. This school, taking its place beside those held in Wellesley, Mass., Chicago, Ill., and Delafield, Wis., marks the definite progress of interest in drama as a tool of religious education.

The students who attend these schools will study dramatic directing, methods of production, music and pageantry, the history and function of religious drama. They will busy themselves with the Bible narratives which may be dramatized by young people's groups, with the more serious production of plays of religious inspiration such as The Servant in the House, and with religious pageantry.

Their interest in better standards of playwriting and production is a promising one. Plays with a message, whether of religion or social service, are likely to be most fearfully dull when they are not meretricious. The Federal Council has already taken a hand in assembling a volume with intelligence and taste (Religious Dramas 1924, The Century Co.). The editors waded through 150 plays which had been passing under the name of religious drama and put to each of them four tests—religious content, dramatic technique, educational value and availability for production by amateurs in a church. They report that "the dearth of plays of social and ethical import is nothing short of amazing." The judges in the contest recently held by the Committee on Publicity Methods in Social Work had a similar experience.

With a book of selected materials and summer schools for training young people in effective methods of production, the religious drama movement is getting on.

'IT must needs be that offenses come." No sooner are we fairly on the way to solve one civic problem, than some new development in social or industrial life presents us with a new one. Now comes this matter of oil-pollution —not, this time, in the troubled sea of politics, but along our ocean shores. Oil is the new fuel. Its superiority over coal is obvious enough. But when every oil-carrying and oil-burning ship dumps oil waste into our harbors, and every oil-burning factory and every garage near the coast, lets oily waste go "somewhere safe to sea," we are confronted by a menace which every lover of beauty, every swimmer and bather, every holder of any kind of property near the sea, must recognize. The broad black "mourning band" of oil or tar marking the high-tide line on rocks and reeds and wharf sides; the bathers emerging from Long Island or Jersey beaches to take a shower bath of kerosene to remove the sticky coats of tar; the departure of fishes, shell fish and seafowl from their old haunts with a consequent serious disturbance of food supplies; the highly inflammable irridescent floating scum on the waters of rivers and harbors, a new serious fire hazard that is engaging the attention of insurance authorities. Of such is the new menace of oil on the waters. Conventions meet to discuss remedies and call for restrictive legislation. It is obviously a matter for national regulation and international agreement. In the meantime, through the press and otherwise, pressure should be brought upon ship owners, oil companies, manufacturers to spend a little money on oil separating devices, and means should be adopted—like those used in some foreign ports—to reclaim oil waste. For this is no minor or temporary threat. It is not at all unlikely that in a decade the coal-burning steamer will be as rare a sight as the full rigged sailing ship



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is today. And we must prepare now to regulate the oil-burning ship for the sake of health, decency, beauty and public safety.

THE notion that there is any such right as that of immigration and emigration, would, no doubt, be dismissed as chimerical by a majority of the United States Senate and House of Representatives. But these rights are the subject of suggestive analysis and comment by Paul Fauchille in a recent number of the International Labour Review. They are, he writes, only gradually being worked out between nations. For the most part nations of both the Occident and the Orient have maintained the sovereign right of the state to exclude foreigners or to keep their own nationals within the state boundaries. Latin American republics "appear actually to admit that foreigners have a natural and international right of free immigration, to which there is a corresponding obligation of the state at whose frontiers they arrive to admit them. On the other hand, the United States appears to have decided that every state has, in virtue of its sovereignty, the right to allow, to prohibit, or to limit at will the entry of foreigners."

Although European nations have not recognized the *right* of entry of foreigners, economic reasons and the lack of man power after the war have brought about a situation in which they are paying less attention to their sovereign right and coming to depend more upon special treaties and understandings. Within the last five years France has concluded such treaties with Poland, Italy, and Czechoslovakia; Italy with Luxemburg and Brazil. Other of less importance have been made by Bulgaria and Greece, Austria and Poland. Most of them are characterized by three main features: (1) They give the greatest possible facilities to nationals of either of the contracting parties wishing to go to the territory of the other for purposes of employment; (2) They lay down the principle of equality of wages and living and labor conditions for all workers employed within one territory regardless of their origin or nationality; (3) They provide for the creation of a commission which would roughly estimate the number of foreign workers that could be admitted without becoming injurious to native workers.

THE Minimum Wage Law of Massachusetts (see The Survey, June 15, 1924) has just withstood a further crucial test in the Supreme Judicial Court of the state. After the decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1923 declaring unconstitutional the mandatory minimum wage law of the District of Columbia, there were those who became apprehensive of the security of all minimum wage legislation. The Massachusetts law, while recommendatory only in so far as the application of its wage decrees is concerned, was mandatory with respect to the publication of its findings by the newspapers. In the case of the Commonwealth vs. the Boston Transcript, the state court has decided that the Minimum Wage Commission cannot compel the newspapers to publish its findings or its notices of non-compliance. Referring to the District of Columbia case, the court states that there is nothing in the decision in that case requiring a modification of its reasoning in Halcombe vs. Creamer, 231 Mass. 99, "wherein he main feaures of our minimum wage law were upheld." The invalidity of the sections relative to advertising, the court holds, "does not affect the rest of that chapter which stands as a valid exercise of legislative power." In view of the fact that during the period while the present case was before the court, not a single paper requested to advertise the commission's findings refused while a number of papers actually applied to the commission for permission to publish advertisements of non-compliance, the decision in Commonwealth vs. the Boston Transcript leaves the powers of the Minimum Wage Commision essentially unimpaired.

THE story of the Ruhr in terms of political expediency has been told and retold from French, German, and English point of view, but in terms of human suffering it probably never will be fully told. Not the least significant of the signs of a new order in France is M. Herriot's action —in the face of difficulties and vigorous opposition from some groups of his countrymen—in granting a general amnesty to all Germans who had been deported from the Ruhr. This act of good will is said by Vorwärts to affect some 60,000 persons. Their troubles are by no means at an end, however. Most of them are railway and civil employes. They are hurrying back to the Ruhr, but they find for the most part neither homes nor jobs awaiting them. Their homes are occupied by Frenchmen and their jobs have fallen to those who did not come under suspicion. This minor dislocation is typical of the confusions which can be cleared up only by the actual working out of the Dawes report.

THE proposal to devote September 12 to the mobilization of the citizen forces of the United States comes as a prompt challenge to the churches and other bodies which have been expressing in their official resolutions—such as those summarized on p. 449—their unalterable opposition to the war system. The Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and parts of Maryland has addressed a letter of protest to the president, the tenor of which my be summed up in this remark of its secretary:

> We feel that it would be a serious mistake for this country, the most powerful in the world, and far removed from European unrest, to parade its readiness to rely on military force for the settlement of disputes.

The Chicago and Philadelphia federations of protestant churches have expressed their opposition to the plan, and the Christian Century has condemned it editorially. The Secretary of War has replied to the editorial in words of a fmiliar ring:

> We all desire peace. Its attainment, however, does not lie in a denial of the constitution or of the basic principles of American citizenship that he who enjoys its rights and privileges must assume the responsibility for their preservation.

The Secretary tends to overwork the Constitution.

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THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
305 West 98th Street, New York City


## AFTER TWO YEARS

(*Continued from page* 506)

her few belongings in her makeshift quarters she must once have enjoyed an orderly, comfortable home of her own.

"Come and meet our new bride," urged my guide as we went on to the second tier of boxes. She stood in her parental home, Box No. 44, smiling and thanking me for wishing her a happy future. She had on a new dress of gay material of which she was very proud—the only new garment she had procured since her arrival in Athens, and constituted her entire trousseou. It was about time for her young husband to return from his daily search for work, and she was eagerly watching the staircase, as the days are long and monotonous for those who are left behind in the Opera House. But she wanted to show me her new home; so, stepping across the hall we came to an alcove where the young couple had set up housekeeping. Their furnishings consisted of a blanket, two cups, and a box with a few smaller possessions. The bride at least was not weighed down with vexing household cares.

I now entered the Grand Promenade, where not so long ago, diplomats had met aristocrats between the acts of the opera. It was now a seething mass of humanity, a scene of indescribable noise and confusion. Three large windows let in a flood of good sunlight, but not the air.

Just as when children play house, so it was here; one had to try not to step over the walls and to be sure to enter by the imaginary front door. In spite of these undimensional homes, women were everywhere occupied in "keeping house," cooking, sweeping, washing, and putting away unnecessary utensils so that there would be room on the floor for all the members of the family for the night. The children were less particular, and had literally spilled all over the place.

Life was in full swing in this combined market-place, shop and home. Vendors of *karoulia,* the round sweet cakes sprinkled with sesame seeds, so beloved by the Greeks, were hawking their wares; a small boy was peddling little bowls of sour milk from 'door to door,' while trying not to step on sleeping old men and women. A cobbler was loudly hammering some wooden shoes, one woman was sewing on a machine, and others were making bobbin-lace, and raffia baskets. A crippled soldier, who had somehow secured a stock of highly colored candy, had seated himself at the entrance to tempt a little refugee with a few *lepta* to spend.

AFTER telling me their troubles, their conversation invariably ended in a shrug of the shoulders, and the words *"Then peirazi"* [It does not matter.]. They do not like Greece, although many realize that all that is possible is being done for them. They are a people in exile, many of whom speak only Turkish, although they are Greek subjects. They long for the day when they can go back to Smyrna, and begin life again in familiar surroundings. Frequently they asked, "When will the ship come to take us home?"

What makes it possible for these people to face another day? What gives them strength to continue life under what would seem to us utterly impossible conditions? Is it religious faith that sustains them? Is it their long cherished hope that they may be allowed to return to their old homes? Or is it not, perhaps, the belief in their hearts that a great rich country beyond the sea will help them to start life anew?



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# How the Churches Have Waged Peace

July 26th and 27th mark the Tenth Anniversary of the beginning of the War. Those dates may well be recognized as an appropriate time for emphasizing the necessity of preparing for world peace. It is a tragedy that six years after the cessation of hostilities there is still hatred, confusion and excessive armament and preparations for more war.
During these years the churches and the Christian leaders of America have steadily "waged Peace." From pulpit and platform have come declarations increasing in strength and volume until they have united in a demand that must be heard, not only in Washington but in the capitals of Europe.

As their joint contribution to the cause which on this Anniversary should be uppermost in every mind, the three organizations whose names are signed to this advertisement have gathered these declarations in a printed broadside which is being distributed to more than 100,000 clergymen throughout the United States. It contains resolutions and statements by

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Congregational Church
Religious Society of Friends
Evangelical Lutheran Church
Governor Baxter of Maine
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Federal Council of Churches
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Northern Baptist Church
President Faunce of Brown
General John F. O'Ryan

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## AMERICAN ROTTEN BOROUGHS

(*Continued from page* 513)

every ten years, the state is still governed by the 1903 apportionment, due to the failure of the Legislature to act and the overthrow in the courts of the 1913 apportionment.

Wayne County, which includes Detroit, has almost one-third of the state's population and pays 40 per cent of the taxes. But it has only five of the thirty-two Senate seats, and but fourteen out of 100 House seats.

As in Ohio tax equalization is the principal bone of contention between the urban and rural groups in the Legislature. This feeling is particularly pronounced now as a result of a series of clashes in the 1923 session and defeat of an attempt by Wayne County to force a reapportionment. The urban population, with 60 per cent of the state's total, has but 45 per cent of voting strength.

Detroit's one avenue of escape is in the increasingly popular weapon of the initiative and referendum.

Illinois, second state in population, is no exception to the rule of rotten borough control of industrial commonwealths. The rural minority has succeeded in preserving its power against all assaults for fifty years. One vote from the farm is said to equal five in Chicago.

More than half the population is in Cook County (Chicago), which has only nineteen Senators against thirty-two for the rest of the state, and fifty-seven representatives compared with ninety-seven for the rest of the state—a percentage of 37 in voting strength. The constitution calls for a reapportionment every ten years, but there has been none in twenty-four years. The same discrepancies exist in party conventions, so that it has been virtually impossible to elect a ticket pledged to a fair apportionment. Through this rural domination the Eighteenth Amendment was ratified, although at a state referendum two years ago the wets won by four to one.

The rural-controlled Legislature allows very little home rule to the poorly-represented cities. A Public Utility Commission in which the cities have no votes is appointed by the Governor. This commission fixes car fares and electric light, telephone and gas rates. Chicago, second city of the Western World, is held to a bonded indebtedness so low in comparison with other large cities of the country that municipal enterprises are prevented. Approval of the Legislature must be obtained for any loan.

Although Missouri, unlike the other states treated in this survey, is more than half rural, the urban minority is very inadequately represented. St. Louis, Kansas City and St. Joseph, with 34.5 per cent of the population, have only nine Senators out of thirty-four and thirty out of 150 Representatives. There has been no reapportionment since 1901.

The growth of St. Louis is definitely barred by a section of the 1875 Constitution, which an amendment is necessary to change. The rural majority has refused to accept such an amendment. A $60,000,000 bond issue for good roads, the bonds and interest being met by receipts of automobile licenses, is being dissipated on gravel roads in the small counties.

These rotten borough conditions cut through party lines in most of the states, although in New York and Rhode Island they are live party issues. There remains to glance at the situation in Massachusetts, (*Continued on page* 520)



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*wherever wrong is done,*
*To the humblest and the weakest,*
*'neath an all-beholding sun,*
*That wrong is also done to us;*
*And they are slaves most base*
*Whose love of right is for themselves,*
*And not for all the race."*

LOWELL

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Acts 17:26

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## AMERICAN ROTTEN BOROUGHS

(*Continued from page* 518)

and her highly urbanized state with no rotten boroughs but with the state, through control by smaller cities, imposing its will in minute detail on the metropolis of Boston.

There are only 202,108 rural dwellers among the 3,650,248 inhabitants of Massachusetts. The Legislature, dominated by the smaller cities, exercises full police powers in Boston, as well as in Fall River. In both cases this authority was assumed after charges of local corruption.

The Boston Police Commission is a state body. The tax rate of Boston is fixed by the Legislature. A Finance Commission of five members, with advisory and investigating power, is appointed for Boston by the governor. The State Licensing Board has jurisdiction over saloons, dance halls, etc., in Boston. The Commissioners of Pilots for the Port of Boston are appointed by the governor. The State Public Utilities Commission passes on all utility rates in Boston. The Boston Elevated Railway (subway) is governed by a Board of Trustees appointed by the governor. Boston's building laws (but not those of any other city) are made by the Legislature.

Our American rotten boroughs are of course an inheritance from Eighteenth Century England. Even in the early part of the Nineteenth Century, a few men of title and property were able to name a majority of the British House of Commons. Non-existent towns, or "pocket boroughs," frequently returned two members of Parliament, while young and large cities, such as Liverpool and Birmingham, were without any representation. The agitation over the Corn Laws, with the threat of revolution, wiped away these abuses, though not all at once. But today Great Britain, a centralized government, has representation according to population. Also the cities have a large measure of home rule.

It may be noted that Massachusetts, which a few years ago put its Legislature on a population basis, retained state control over its largest city, even to police powers. Massachusetts has now the initiative and referendum and at least a partial reform has been accomplished.

The fight on American rotten boroughs, such as those in Rhode Island, is a state matter, and one that can be won only by educational campaign. The rural minorities which have retained power must be convinced that in the long run such an undemocratic system cannot endure and that they have nothing to fear from the urban vote. On the other hand, the urban representatives, while looking after the interests of their constituencies and insisting on their getting the voice in legislative affairs to which they are entitled, must be sympathetic toward the farmer and his peculiar problems and consequent attitude toward the "city feller." But there is nothing to be gained in the way of harmony between these two groups by blinking the fact that in many states a profound antagonism exists, which is strengthened by the fact that the minority rural voters hold the whiphand and force distasteful legislation on the cities, at the same time withholding from the city the right to govern itself. Just so long as this condition exists will the sharp cleavage continue between town and country, the cities will continue to defy an enormous mass of state sumptuary legislation, and they will fail in their efforts to secure the relief through industrial and fiscal legislation that many of them so urgently need.



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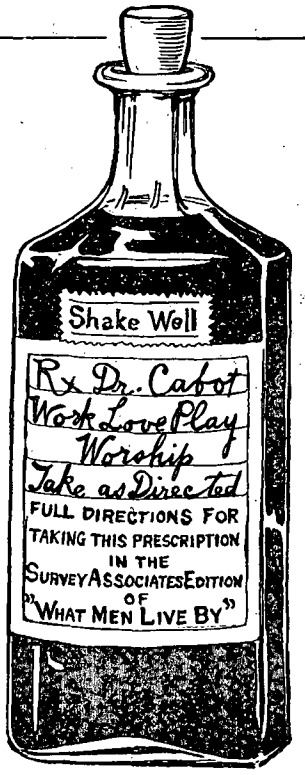


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## WHERE GOES INDIA?

(*Continued from page* 508)

he was in a position of unique ascendency, we may infer that the manifestoes make mention of it in what may be called the millenial sense.

The one fact about Indian Nationalism in regard to which there would seem to be no room for reasonable doubt is that it has once again become political. If Gandhi cannot refrain from acknowledging the effectiveness of the Swarajist tactics, we may take for granted that the educated classes in general have been enormously impressed by the year's events in the provincial councils and the All-India Assembly. We must remember that the western-educated Indian is as much at home in politics as the Irish-American. He delights in the mechanism or organization; the debating chamber is his spiritual home. When, therefore, Gandhi urged his educated countrymen to give up political activity, he was demanding from them a sacrifice very nearly as severe as would be the sacrifice of their professional career. Hence it is perfectly natural that they should return with enthusiasm to the political field and should look upon Gandhi's non-cooperation as a realm of abstraction. The Mahatma, at the close of the Bombay conferences, said that the national congress must decide between himself and his former lieutenants. The national congress must in the end reflect the dominant opinion of the educated classes, and that, we may judge, is with Das and Nehru.

The foregoing, of course, has a direct bearing upon the all-important question of Gandhi's future. What will that future be? What, after the tremendous swing back to politics, is to be the character of his leadership?

Two years ago it would have seemed fantastic to predict that the control of the Swaraj movement would pass from Gandhi to Das, and that the great province of Bengal, which in the heyday of non-cooperation was one of the Mahatma's most significant conquests, would be turned back to political activity. Yet there is no doubt about the change; nor can any one question the reality of Das's power, or the evidences of the intense public interest in the drama of obstruction and provocation that is being played in the councils by the Swaraj party. The impressive unanimity of the earlier non-cooperation crusade, as we saw it in 1921, is today a memory, while the most wonderful popular leader of the modern world is engaged in the puzzling task of creating a new organic relationship between himself and a movement which, but for his own personality and vision, could never have reached its present character or strength.

Gandhi is essentially non-political, anti-political; and Swaraj is now emphatically political. Will he, then, resolve to devote himself henceforward to his fourfold path of social redemption, leaving the Das-Nehru combination to work out, as Indian movements so far have always done, in disunion and disappointment? There have been times since his release when this seemed probable, and certainly no one would say that the Gandhi social program is not more than enough for the greatest of prophets. It comprises:

1. *Khaddar*: the adoption by all Indians of the use of home-spun cloth;
2. Prohibition of drink and drugs;
3. Hindu-Mahomedan unity;
4. The recognition and redemption of the Indian untouchables.



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There surely is a program that is staggering in its magnitude. As to *Khaddar*: Gandhi has to fight, not only the mills of England, of Germany and Japan, but the mills also of his own country. In this connection it is continually being said that non-cooperation implies the boycott of British goods. In Gandhi's mind it does not. He is and always has been against the use of merely nationalist and anti-nationalist weapons. But *Khaddar* for him does of necessity involve a boycott of *foreign* cloth, and the imposition of a tariff upon foreign manufactures. His fight against drink and drugs is, of course, a fight against the revenue policy of the British Government, as well as against a deep-seated racial habit. His insistence upon Hindu-Mahomedan unity implies an heroic purpose, constantly brought to nothing by the historic antagonisms of race and creed, to which at this moment the Punjab province bears distressing witness. His mission of hope to the Untouchables is, as we can all see, the sublimest thing in Gandhi's faith and spirit: for here he has upon his heart the weight of an immeasurable wrong, inflicted by the privileged Indian upon myriads of his disinherited fellows, and has arrayed against him the might of a terrific social and religious system.

I note here one recent event of immense import which is certain to strengthen the popular appeal of the Swarajists. On June 5, in the High Court of London, there was decided the sensational libel suit arising out of the Punjab troubles of 1919. Sir Sankaran Nair, an eminent Madras jurist and at one time a member of the Viceroy's cabinet, wrote an attack upon the non-cooperation movement in a little book called "Gandhi and Anarchy." It was a statement of the Indian Moderates' case against the Mahatma and his crusade, and as such it was approved and circulated by the Indian Government. But it contained several carelessly worded paragraphs in which the official actions of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, head of the Punjab Government, were severely condemned, O'Dwyer being accused of personal responsibility for the atrocities. He brought suit for libel against Nair, and the affair became a great political encounter in the courts. After a hearing of five weeks the judge summed up emphatically for the plaintiff, but the jury disagreed—eleven to one. In order to avoid a new trial, and the further raking over of the most tragic records of British India since the Great Mutiny, the majority verdict was accepted, with damages of £500 for O'Dwyer.

The English press made, on the whole, very little of the case; but in India it is inevitably being treated as a cardinal event, since Anglo-India will insist upon regarding the result as a vindication of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's regime and an endorsement of General Dwyer's fateful action at Amritsar. I listened on the closing day to Mr. Justice McCardie's charge to the jury, and as the sentences of justification came from him in measured tones, I caught in advance the reverberation in India of what may easily prove to be the most unwise utterance of an English judge in our time. It was unnecessary as well as unwise, for Amritsar did not come within the proper scope of the case, and the acquittal of General Dyer was no part of the award of damages to the lieutenant-governor. The case has many tragic aspects, not the least lamentable being this, that Mr. Justice McCardie has furnished Gandhi with a powerful piece of evidence in support of his reiterated assertion that India cannot look for justice to an alien government or court of law.


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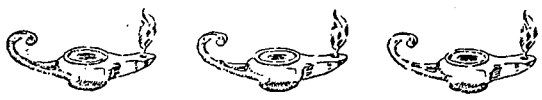

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## THE WAR AND OURSELVES

(*Continued from page* 495)

is implicit in the nature of man and of society. The dispute lies between those who reason on the premise of "human nature being as it is" and those who believe in "human nature as it can be."

The trouble with many of us professed pacifists is that we see the truth too late: we become sober in the middle of the spree and once it is over forget our insights. For nothing is more evident than that wars are made in times of peace, and that the pacifist must take the field long before the disease has come to crisis. The pacifist is needed now in the United States—probably the greatest menace at present to world peace—as never before. Our imperialists, our war panderers and hun-minded "realists" and propagandists, are blowing up the embers for another "inevitable" and strictly "defensive" war. Their truculent technique was displayed in the insolent gesture to Japan. But they have other, more dangerous secret methods that demand a far-sighted vigilance.

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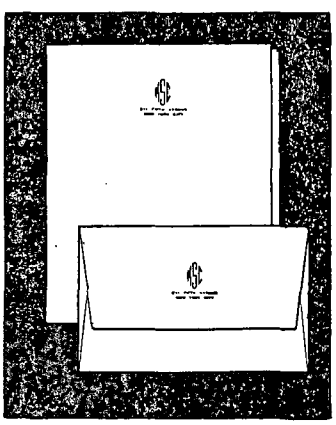

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# HELP! HELP! HELP!

Would you give a dollar to stop a forest fire in your neighborhood?

Would you give a dollar to stop a typhus epidemic in your neighborhood?

Will you give a dollar or more to stop an epidemic of mob violence and lawlessness in your neighborhood?

What is the constitution of your country worth to you?

The city of Los Angeles has seceded from the Union and turned over its harbor to the control of rioters. A mob of fifty men raided an I. W. W. meeting, smashed up the hall, destroyed the furniture, burning most of it, cruelly beat members of the audience, threw one little girl into a vat of boiling coffee, so that the flesh was partly cooked from her legs, and seriously scalded four other little children. Finally the mob carried six men off into the woods and tarred and feathered them.

The guilty men walk about the streets, and their victims meet them and know them, but cannot get them arrested—except in two cases where the victims did the arresting for themselves! The grand jury has heard some of the victims, but has decided it can do nothing, since it is not a crime to tar and feather men and torture little children. We have appealed to the city authorities again and again, but can get no real action.

We invite you to imagine, if you can, that a mob of fifty I. W. W. have raided the Chamber of Commerce and smashed up the place and carried off six prominent bankers and tarred and feathered them! Would the grand jury consent to take any action? Would the police leave it for the bankers to do their own arresting?

A few days ago we held a protest meeting at the harbor, addressed by the Reverend Robert Whitaker of San Diego. The police arrested one of our attorneys, Mr. Leo Gallagher, charged with singing a song.

We shall go on protesting to the people of Los Angeles. We appeal to the people of the entire United States for help in the effort to bring Los Angeles back into the Union under the constitution and the laws.

We cannot reach the people through the newspapers, which will not print the news. The newspapers say that the American Civil Liberties Union is a branch of the I. W. W., which only proves that to the offence of mobbing they add the offence of telling what is not the truth.

We are an organization of American citizens, who believe in due process of law and the constitution of our country, including its provisions guaranteeing freedom of speech, press and assemblage. Our executive committee is composed mainly of lawyers and clergymen. Our director is the Reverend Clinton J. Taft, until recently pastor of the Plymouth Congregational Church of Los Angeles.

We need funds to print leaflets for distribution among the people of our city; also to publish this advertisement throughout the country. We want to let the "boosters" of our community understand that they cannot run their city by mobs without the news getting out to the rest of the world. We want America to know that the city of Los Angeles has seceded from the Union.

THE WHITE SPOT ON THE INDUSTRIAL MAP IS THE BLACK SPOT ON THE POLITICAL MAP.

*SO. CALIFORNIA BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION*

# HELP! HELP! HELP!

Southern California Branch, American Civil Liberties Union,
Room 540, Wilcox Bldg., Los Angeles, Cal.

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